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**Gothic Cabala:
The Anti-Semitic Spectropoetics of British Gothic Literature**

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December 1997

A Thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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Abstract

The figure of the Wandering Jew in British Gothic literature has been generally regarded as a static and romantic Everyman who signifies religious punishment, remorse, and alienation. In that it fails to consider the fact that the legend of the Wandering Jew signalled a noteworthy historical shift from theological to racial anti-Semitism, this reading has overlooked the significance of this figure's specific ethno-religious aspect and its relation to the figure of the vampire. It has hindered, consequently, the recognition of the Wandering Jew's relevance to the "Jewish Question," a vital issue in the construction of British national identity. In this dissertation, I chronicle the "spectropoetics" of Gothic literature — how the spectres of Jewish difference and Jewish assimilation haunt the British Gothic novel. I trace this "spectropoetics" through medieval anti-Semitism, and consider its significance in addressing anxieties about the Crypto-Jew and the Cabala's role in secret societies during two major historic events concurrent with the period of classic Gothic literature — the Spanish Inquisition, a narrative element featured in many Gothic works, and the French Revolution, a cataclysmic event to which many Gothic works responded. In the light of this complex of concerns, I examine the role of the Wandering Jew in five Gothic works — Matthew G. Lewis's The Monk (1795), William Godwin's St. Leon (1799), Charles Robert Maturin's Melmoth the Wanderer (1820), Joseph Sheridan Le Fanu's "Carmilla" (1872), and Bram Stoker's Dracula (1897). In my conclusion, I delineate the vampiric Wandering Jew's "eternal" role in addressing nationalist concerns by examining his symbolic preeminence in Nazi Germany.

Précis

Le personnage du Juif Errant que l'on retrouve dans la littérature Gothique Anglaise a, en générale, été considéré comme l'évocation romantique et immuable d'un "Everyman" qui représenterait la punition religieuse, le remors, et l'aliénation. Mais puisqu'elle a échoué à comprendre que la légende du Juif Errant révélait un transfert historique marquant de l'antisémitisme théologique à l'antisémitisme raciale, cette lecture a négligé la portée fondamentale de la spécificité ethno-religieuse du personnage et de son rapport avec celui de vampire. Par conséquent, cela a entravé la reconnaissance de sa pertinence dans la "Question Juive," point vital dans la construction de l'identité nationale Britannique. Dans cet essai, je fais la chronique de la "spectropoétique" de la littérature Gothique — ou comment les fantômes de la différence Juive et de l'assimilation Juive hantent le roman Gothique Anglais. Je retrace cette "spectropoétique" à travers l'antisémitisme médiévale, et considère son importance à soulever les inquiétudes face au Crypto-Juif et le rôle de la Cabale dans les sociétés secrètes au moment de deux événements historiques majeurs concourants avec l'âge d'or de la littérature Gothique classique — l'Inquisition Espagnole, un élément narratif que l'on retrouve en toile de fond dans plusieurs romans Gothiques, et la Révolution Française, événement cataclysmique auquel répondent plusieurs autres romans. À la lumière de ces considérations multiples, j'analyse le rôle de Juif Errant dans cinq romans Gothiques — Matthew G. Lewis's The Monk (1795), William Godwin's St. Leon (1799), Charles Robert Maturin's Melmoth the Wanderer (1820), Joseph Sheridan Le Fanu's "Carmilla" (1872), et Bram Stoker's Dracula (1897). En conclusion, je délimite le rôle éternel du Juif Errant vampirique comme révélateur des préoccupations nationalistes, en examinant sa prééminence symbolique dans l'Allemagne nazi.

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Introduction

Consanguinity:

Bram Stoker's *Dracula* and Gothic Literature's Wandering Jew

So, when the men and/or monsters are clearly identified either ethnically or racially, the horror ... becomes immediately more complex and more purposeful. If, for example, Count Dracula were a Jew or Baron Frankenstein a Black, we would instantly become aware of new levels of meaning. The horror takes on political, social, and sexual connotations linked with its characters' ethnic or racial identification. (Friedman 50)

One of the more important contributions to Dracula scholarship in recent years has been the examination of Bram Stoker's bloodthirsty Count as a stereotypical Jewish figure.¹ Conceived in the 1890s when England, a declining imperial power, was experiencing a great influx of Jews fleeing pogroms, expulsions, and anti-Jewish legislation throughout Russia and Eastern Europe, Stoker's parasitic, gold-hoarding, insatiably thirsty monster, with his emphatically stereotypical Jewish physiognomy and attributes, spoke to fin-de-siècle British anxieties about "foreign invasion" and the concomitant drainage of the nation's figurative "bloodbanks" of capital. According to Jules Zanger in his article "A Sympathetic Vibration: Dracula and the Jews," the number of foreign Jews in England increased by approximately six hundred percent between 1881 and 1900 (34). Not surprisingly, the popular "invasion scare" and "dynamite" novels of the same period, all concerned with the potential overthrow of the nation by "aliens," increased accordingly, running into the hundreds by century's end (Arata 623). With the aid of the stereotype of the Jew as sexually pathological and perverse, Stoker conjured up a terrifying "Jacob the Ripper"-style monster who threatened the nation's women with infection.² Stephen D. Arata has offered what is perhaps the most ingenious description of *Dracula* to date: Stoker's demon lover was a menacing "Occidental tourist," whose mission was "reverse colonization." However, although Arata argues that "Dracula enacts the period's

most important and pervasive narrative of decline, a narrative of reverse colonization" fuelled by British imperialist fear and guilt (623), he does not draw any connection between Dracula and the entry of large numbers of Jews into Britain at the fin-de-siècle.

Although the "Dracula as Jewish Count" reading has helped to elucidate both the specific nature of the vampire's threat to fin-de-siècle England and the prevalent Christian thematics and iconography of Stoker's novel, literary critics have failed to consider Count Dracula's consanguineous connections with other characters within the Gothic literary tradition. Adapting Phyllis Roth's casual claim in her provocative study of Stoker's oeuvre that Dracula is a type of undying "Faustian Wandering Jew" (96), I would maintain that if Dracula has a particular blood brother within the Gothic tradition, he is in fact the Wandering Jew, the infamous Antichrist of extrascriptural legend who was cursed to immortality until the Second Coming for mocking Christ as he carried the Cross to Calvary. As I will discuss further, it is extremely significant that the most popular version of this "persistent and ... extraordinary" legend (Felsenstein 58) arrives on British soil in the early seventeenth century, half a century before the Jews were readmitted to England.³ It relates how Christ was driven from Ahasuerus's doorstep where he stopped to rest. In response to the Jew's action of striking him while shouting, "Walk faster!", Christ replied, "I go, but you will walk until I come again!" (Anderson 11). By way of this curse, Christ figuratively transferred his burdensome cross to the Jew, thus ascribing to him what Edgar Rosenberg aptly refers to in From Shylock to Svengali, his comprehensive work examining the representation of the Jew in English literature, as "the Ur-crime of the Crucifixion" (27).

It should be noted, prior to embarking upon a more detailed examination of how Stoker's hideous progeny furnishes an innovative version of the Wandering Jew in the Gothic literary tradition, that Stoker was well aware of this legendary figure. In fact, as biographical material attests, the Wandering Jew had long haunted Stoker's imagination. In his 1962 book A Biography of Dracula: The Life Story of Bram Stoker, Henry Ludlam

outlines that the Wandering Jew was “one of Bram’s pet themes.” As supportive evidence, Ludlam provides an intriguing statement from Stoker’s lifelong friend, writer Hall Caine, the “Hommy-Beg” to whom Dracula is dedicated. Thinking back over their attempts to fit Stoker’s boss, acclaimed actor Henry Irving, with a suitable dramatic role, Caine wrote, “I remember that most of our subjects dealt with the supernatural, and that the Wandering Jew, the Flying Dutchman and the Demon Lover were themes around which our imagination[s] constantly revolved” (97).⁴

While all three themes may be said to be compellingly combined in the narrative whirlpool that is Dracula — the spectral ship central to the tale of the Flying Dutchman assumes the form of the Russian Demeter that transports the Count to England via Whitby — it is interesting to note that the subject of the Wandering Jew continued to fascinate Stoker subsequent to Dracula’s publication. In one of his final works entitled Famous Impostors (1910), a series of essays about various historical charlatans, an enlightening chapter is entirely devoted to this accursed, immortal figure and the man Stoker deems the impostor Armenian who was instrumental to the tale’s earliest circulation in England in the thirteenth century. If nothing else, Stoker proves his knowledge in this essay of both the legend of the Wandering Jew and its various literary treatments in the nineteenth century. What is perhaps most intriguing for Dracula scholars is the fact that Stoker’s literary examination culminates with Eugène Sue’s famous novel Le Juif Errant (1844–45), a book which Stoker lauds for tapping into a prevalent and deep-seated contemporary anxiety, namely, the spread of cholera.⁵

Stoker was well aware of the cholera epidemic as his mother had survived it in Ireland in the early 1830s and had related chilling tales about it throughout Stoker’s childhood. Emulating Sue’s clever narrative strategy by adapting the Jew’s curse as “the fated carrier of that dreaded pestilence” (116) to his own time, Stoker’s Dracula threatens to infect England — and, more specifically, English women who thereafter exhibit prostitute-like tendencies — with vampirism, an obvious metaphor for syphilis, the sexually-

transmitted disease prevalent in fin-de-siècle England that may have claimed Stoker's life. The other significant connection between Dracula and Stoker's portrait of the Wandering Jew delineated in Famous Impostors lies in their ability to regenerate themselves. Stoker's description of this capacity is significant to his vampire's conception: "... the wanderer's life is miraculously prolonged... Each hundredth year ... [he] falls into a faint so that he lies for a time unconscious. When he recovers he finds that his age is restored to that which it was when the Lord suffered" (110). While the Wandering Jew is miraculously rejuvenated so that his punishment for his mockery of Christ may be prolonged, Dracula, in keeping with the tradition of the vampire in legend, is conceived as an anti-Christ figure who prolongs his life and regains youth by way of a literally bloody ceremony. After centuries of demonically literalizing the Eucharist by imbibing sacrificial human blood, an act which violates communal Christian brotherhood, Dracula is punished in a pseudo-Crucifixion ritual.

Stoker's creation of his Wandering Jew vampire also owed much to popular cultural currency. At the close of a century during which several reported sightings of the Wandering Jew had occurred⁶, the longstanding stereotype of the Jew as a rootless wanderer remained intact. A reference in the Parliamentary Papers of 1888 alluding to the movement by the Jewish Board of Guardians to repatriate Jews to Eastern Europe unwittingly advances this image.⁷ As the JBG's honorary secretary informed the House of Commons Select Committee on Emigration and Immigration: "it is one of our largest operations sending people back who, having wandered here, prove themselves to be useless or helpless" (63; emphasis added). The extent to which this stereotype had entered the popular imagination is especially attested to in this instance by the fact that the JBG's honorary secretary was himself Jewish.

What is noteworthy about the Anglo-Jewish rationale for repatriating their eastern European co-religionists is the concern with their inability to assimilate into British society and their economic uselessness. In a country in the throes of an "economic and ... social

malaise" (Hobsbawm 36) that involved massive unemployment and riots (Feldman 58), the influx of foreign workers who would "take less wages than the native worker and owing to ... [their] lower standard of existence ... maintain ... [themselves] on what would mean starvation to an Englishman" (Feldman 59) was an event that generated tremendous anxiety. As with the massive Irish influx into England during the potato famine in the Hungry Forties, it was felt that foreign Jews would further tax an already beleaguered economy. Indeed, the latter were popularly regarded as economic parasites who drained their host nations of vital wealth. As Ken Gelder has recently explained in his book Reading the Vampire, Victorian anxiety about the persistence of Jewish wandering in Britain was predominantly generated by an economic threat: "Foreign Jews — from the East — were liable to be represented as 'uncheckable'.... Exhaustive Victorian surveys were a means of monitoring the movements and habits of ethnic minorities; but the Jews, figured as 'nomadic', were difficult to monitor. The mobility of the foreign Jew was both admirable (since they accumulated capital) and the source of national anxiety (since they drained capital by moving it elsewhere)" (14). Furthermore, the Irish and the Jews suffered a similar fate at the hands of the popular press which enlisted pseudoscientific notions and a rhetoric of degeneration to bolster its anti-alien politics. While the Irish were depicted in popular illustrations as barbarian simians who threatened civilized Englishmen, the Jews were portrayed as degenerate, syphilitic, Svengali-style criminals who were prone to insanity and posed a special threat to the Victorian woman, that ethereal, asexual creature commonly known as the angel in the house.

Although it does not appear that Bram Stoker expressed anxiety about massive Jewish immigration to Britain outside of his fiction, we do know that he was aware of and concerned about what he significantly termed the "Exodus" of Jews from Eastern Europe and Russia. Stoker's outline of Hall Caine's theory concerning the Jewish Exodus in Volume Two of his Personal Reminiscences of Henry Irving, foregrounds the issue of monetary transactions:

To him [Hall Caine] it had begun in what was locally known as — the “closed hand.” It was, so far as he could gather, on an economic basis. The Russian moujik was illiterate and as a rule a drunkard when he got the chance. In the endless steppes, which are so flat that the roads simply disappear on the horizon line, all the carriage of goods has to be by carts. There are no minor railways. The moujik with his load of corn would take his way to the nearest market centre and there stay in the tavern till he had drunk up all he had received for his crop. The Jew tavern-keeper was also the local usurer, and would make a certain advance on the man's labour for the coming year. When that credit had ended, since he never could get even, he would pledge the labour of his children. Thus after a time the children, practically sold to labour, would be taken away to the cities there to be put to work without remuneration. It was practically slavery. Then the Russian Government, recognising the impossibility of dealing with such a state of affairs, undertook to drive out the Jews altogether.

Such was the allegation made by the supporters of the Exodus, and there was at least a certain amount of truth in it. (54)

Stoker's mini-portrait of the Exodus situation depicting the Jews as Shylock-style slave-drivers who were brutal to children and whose persecution was, therefore, somewhat justified, adheres to traditional anti-Semitic stereotypes and contrasts sharply with the Jews' role as an oppressed people in the Biblical book of Exodus. It lends itself, however, to Stoker's literary configuration of the Wandering Jew as a dreaded parasitical force with which fin-de-siècle England had to reckon. Stoker creates an accursed, somewhat pathetic creature by grafting Shylock onto the Wandering Jew. In the updated form of a power-hungry, fin-de-siècle vampire, William Shakespeare's Mammon-worshipper becomes a literally bloodthirsty cut-throat.

Indeed, with the production of Dracula, Stoker placed the final nail in the coffin of the convinced penitent featured in the most popular British version of the traditional Wandering Jew legend. As Katharine M. Briggs delineates, it was originally “in almost all its forms, the story of the regeneration of a soul, of penitence and a hard long service rendered to humanity” (137). One would be hard pressed to locate this “positive” rendition in Stoker’s gripping page-turner. Dracula also completely subverts Edgar Rosenberg’s claim that the Wandering Jew may boast, “A man of my spiritual intensity does not eat corpses” (190). While Briggs and Rosenberg correctly describe the characteristics of the predominant Wandering Jew figure, they both overlook the more negative strain of the legend delineated by Hyam Maccoby in his informative essay, “The Wandering Jew as Sacred Executioner.” Maccoby explains:

Other versions existed (especially in Germany) which lacked the positive hope of reconciliation [with Christ at the Millennium]. In those negative versions, the sufferings of the Wandering Jew are seen merely as just punishment for his depravity. He is not a convert to Christianity, but an unregenerate Jew, with evil magic powers derived from his long experience of life and his association with the Devil. It was this negative version that gave rise to the nineteenth-century anti-Semitic stereotype, taken up with enthusiasm by the Nazis, of the Jew as a “rootless cosmopolitan.” (252)

In The Devil and the Jews, an impressive study of the medieval European conception of the Jews and its relation to modern anti-Semitism, Joshua Trachtenberg outlines how this more negative strain of the Wandering Jew legend produced a figure who exemplified the Jewish community as a whole. As Trachtenberg explains, “In most of the accounts the Wandering Jew had forsaken his false faith and adopted the true faith of Jesus, in contrast to the obduracy of his fellow Jews; several versions, however, have him remain a Jew, refusing to acknowledge through baptism the truth to which his own unique career testified, and thus typifying the attitude of all Jews” (17).

Stoker's Dracula not only furnishes a prime example of this more negative strain of the Wandering Jew legend, he represents the most literally monstrous Jew in that tradition as he combines the essentially "Gothic," terror-inspiring stereotypes of Bogey, Villain, Parasite, Degenerate, Wanderer, and Sorcerer which are separately outlined in Rosenberg's study. An examination of Dracula within the Gothic tradition, however, reveals Stoker's monstrous wanderer to be a curious but somewhat foreseeable development of the Wandering Jew figure. Dracula's "construction" may be especially traced by way of four popular British Gothic works featuring this wanderer — Matthew G. Lewis's The Monk (1795), William Godwin's St. Leon (1799), Reverend Charles Robert Maturin's Melmoth the Wanderer (1820), and Joseph Sheridan Le Fanu's "Carmilla" (1872). It is noteworthy that in all of these works, the Wandering Jew is never entirely patterned after his regenerated, repentant, and benevolent legendary counterpart. Instead, he evokes incredible dread and is remarkable in that he is either represented as a vampire figure or is associated with such a figure. H.L. Malchow has outlined how the vampire is an essential latent aspect of the Wandering Jew's character. He explains how the "popular story of the Wandering Jew, even when the Jew is presented in a favorable light, does not escape the vampire association. He cannot die, and he brings the plague" (160). This aspect of the Wandering Jew's make-up has, hitherto, largely remained unobserved and uncharted in Gothic literary criticism. Thus, in response to Montague Summers's puzzlement as to "how it was that such writers as Monk Lewis ... and Charles Robert Maturin ... the two lords of macabre romance, should neither of them have sent some hideous vampire ghost ravaging through their sepulchral pages" (Varma 159), it should be stated that they had, in fact, done just that. Reading the four aforementioned works closely, it is possible to discern in their riveting phantasmagoria, the shadowy skeletons of figures which are later combined in Stoker's fin-de-siècle monster.

Edgar Rosenberg claims that, unlike the generally static literary representation of the Jew, "each age recreates the Wandering Jew in its own image" (188; emphasis added).

According to Rosenberg, an examination of the uses to which the Wandering Jew is put in literature “answers the purposes of literary history more readily ... [than the general representations of the Jew for] it changes[,] ... adapts itself to the demands of diverse generations and diverse beliefs[, and] ... provides a more reliable and more ‘readable’ barometer than Shylock to the kind of civilization, ideology, and regnant literary convention in which it flourishes” (188). Further, Rosenberg notes a crucial alteration in this figure's representation: “The history of Ahasuerus in the period between the appearance of Lewis's The Monk in 1796 and the publication of Trilby in 1894 is largely the story of his translation from a religious figure of whom Christ made an example for the edification of other sinners, to a black magician whose sorcery was interesting on secular grounds” (206).

Setting aside Rosenberg's contentious assertion about the generally static nature of the Jew in English literature⁸, it is crucial to consider how the Wandering Jew's sinister metamorphosis into a vampire in Gothic literature relates to each work's social context. In keeping with David Punter's hypothesis that “Within the Gothic we can find a very intense, if displaced, engagement with political and social problems” (62), it may be argued that the various monstrous couplings of the Wandering Jew and the vampire do, oftentimes compellingly and cryptically, bespeak a diversity of religious, political, economic, and sexual anxieties and desires lurking in the closet of Christian England. This dissertation hopes to make clear that the legend of the Wandering Jew is employed in British Gothic literature to tackle these various issues. To date, religious questions have been only minimally examined; however, this legend's significance in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century literature is firmly grounded in what Frank Felsenstein describes as “an ongoing preoccupation in Christian apologetics to comprehend and to justify the often uneasy kinship between the two religions” (58). The issues of religious paternity and inheritance with their accompanying ambivalent emotions of righteousness and guilt, unarguably

underpin the Wandering Jew's appearances in Gothic literature. As Hyam Maccoby relates:

The Jews were never put on the same footing as the other heretics. They were the representatives of the Old Religion, against which Christianity had rebelled, and there was a feeling of bad conscience about them. The Jews were Father-figures, and rebellion against the father is never a straightforward expression of hatred. (Maccoby 239)

The demonic semiotics attached to the heretic were vital both to medieval anti-Semitism and to the legend of the Wandering Jew, but other deep-seated anxieties about Christianity's role as successor to Judaism infused these fictional frameworks. As theological issues in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were inextricably bound up with social, political, and economic concerns, the representation of the Wandering Jew in the pages of British Gothic fiction is nothing if not complex in its signification. Disentangling and analysing the intricate threads of this complex socio-cultural tapestry is at the forefront of my project. A primary point to foreground is that within the genre of Gothic fiction, the legend of the Wandering Jew becomes coloured by secular, nationalistic concerns and popular conceptions about the nature of "Jewishness," and its relationship to developing notions of what it meant to be Christian and British.

If this study may be said to be guided by a particular statement, it is James Shapiro's claim in his 1996 publication, Shakespeare and the Jews, that "the English turned to Jewish questions in order to answer English ones" (1). While Shapiro chronicles the relevance of this statement from the time of Shakespeare's Merchant of Venice until 1753, the year the Jewish Naturalization Bill was decisively rejected in Britain, Michael Ragussis illustrates its significance to a series of classic British novels ranging from Sir Walter Scott's Ivanhoe (1819) to Anthony Trollope's The Way We Live Now (1875). In Figures of Conversion: "The Jewish Question" & English National Identity (1995), Ragussis argues that "the Jewish Question" was widely disseminated and debated in the

Victorian novel, and lay “at the heart of English national identity” (12). While this claim has been justly criticized as being somewhat exaggerated⁹, Shapiro’s study does, nonetheless, effectively redress a serious blindspot in Linda Colley’s historic study, *Britons* (1992), which does not even mention the Jews in relation to the development of British national identity.¹⁰

Focusing on the complex agenda subtending the British missions to convert the Jews, Ragussis cogently delineates the existence and nature of the Judaization fears haunting nineteenth-century Britain. He overlooks the significant role played by the Gothic novel, however, with regard to these anxieties. His reading of the Wandering Jew, one of that genre’s stock characters, as a “ghostly figure of fantasy rather than a flesh-and-blood figure of history” (136), adheres to the traditionally ahistorical, Romantic reading of this genre and one of its star characters. While it should not be denied that the Wandering Jew has attractive “Romantic” literary features — Rosenberg quaintly and aptly characterizes him as “that antique dromomaniac, hateful to Christ and marvelous to men” (76) — it is a serious oversight not to consider this literary character’s relationship to his contemporary flesh-and-blood co-religionists. He is not simply a wanderer but a Wandering Jew. He comes replete, in other words, with an ethnic badge. Hyam Maccoby’s articulate comments about the effect of the Romantic representation of the Wandering Jew may apply equally to Romantic readings of this figure. Maccoby writes:

... the Romantic writers take the Wandering Jew outside his true context of the Christian myth and the conflict between Christianity and Judaism. By universalizing him they falsify him, and make him just one more peg for the concept of the anti-bourgeois hero, like the Flying Dutchman or Byron’s Corsair. They turn him into the individualist who has sharpened his sense of individuality through sin, while it is the essence of the Wandering Jew in the authentic legend that he is not an individualist, however lonely his

suffering, but a figure that has an expiatory role in relation to the Christian community. (254-5)

Rosenberg and Ragussis also fail to recognize what historians Léon Poliakov and Paul Lawrence Rose foreground in their respective examinations of the Wandering Jew in French and German literature: with the shift from religious/theological to racial/secular anti-Semitism in the nineteenth century, this figure was radically adapted to speak to secular issues (Poliakov 352). Rose outlines the secular shift in German literature as follows:

Until the nineteenth century it was the eternally unending character of Ahasverus's punishment that made him the Eternal Jew; but by the time of Ludwig Börne's Der ewige Jude (1821), the label had changed its point. It now referred to those guiltful traits that were commonly regarded as eternally stamped on the Jewish national character and demanded redemption. (24)

Susan Shapiro's delineation of the positive and negative readings of the Wandering Jew in her insightful 1997 essay "The Uncanny Jew: A Brief History of an Image," also alludes to the crucial secular application of this figure's "negative" significance. As she explains it:

The "positive" Christian reading of Ahasverus is that he is a sign of Christian faith in the second coming, at which point the Eternal Jew will finally find rest in his embracing of Jesus as Christ and his conversion to Christianity.¹¹ Ahasverus, thus, is to be preserved as a part of, and a crucial witness to, the truth of Christianity. In its "negative" reading, Ahasverus becomes only the unloving and egoistic Jew who rejected Christ and was, therefore, cursed to wander ceaselessly and to find no rest, which was a sign of the Jew's depravity and anti-sociality. This "negative" Ahasverus is decidedly outside of the bounds of Christianity, the religion of love. Eliminating Ahasverus becomes, in this version, part of the triumph and fulfillment of this love. The significance of the myth and image of

Ahasverus, I suggest, is not only that it was in these writings negatively inflected, but that it was a way of representing the Unheimlichkeit [uncanny nature] of the Jews as an ancient problem — as a problem of the Jews' essential character, be that essence understood to derive from their national, religious, racial, or psychological character. (67)

Like Poliakov and Rose, Shapiro maintains that the legend of Ahasuerus, the Wandering Jew, is the principal tale through which feelings about “the Jewish Question” were articulated. As I will illustrate in the following chapter, the fear of the figure Shapiro labels the “uncanny Jew” finds its full expression in British Gothic literature of the late eighteenth century. Not only is this anxiety distilled, quite specifically, into representations of that genre's primary Jewish character, the Wandering Jew, but subsequent British renditions of the legend are affected by this figure's radical metamorphosis in Gothic literature.

While Gothic literature was originally perceived as escapist, increasingly critics have interpreted it as a vehicle for expressing social anxieties. Although, as Michael Wheeler argues, “for many critics in the modern, mainly secular western world, religion in historical literature is something of an embarrassment” (1994: 2), several scholars have considered the significance of religious issues in Gothic literature. Over the course of the last half century, Mary Muriel Tarr (1946), Irene Bostrom (1962), Joel Porte (1974), and Victor Sage (1988) have affirmed that this genre's terror is “usually at bottom theological” (Porte 45) and that its rhetoric “is demonstrably theological in character” (Sage xvi). Directly or indirectly, these critics have opposed the declaration made by Montague Summers in 1928 that “it is folly to trace any ‘anti-Roman [Catholic] feeling’ in the Gothic novel” as these authors “employed abbots and convents ... because such properties were exotic, ... mysterious, and capable of the highest romantic treatment” (xviii). Indeed, they have eloquently illustrated how Gothic literature is, generally, defiantly anti-Catholic in nature. Fred Botting concisely outlines the popular association between the concept of Gothic and anti-Catholicism:

... Gothic was associated with the history of the northern, Germanic nations whose fierce avowal of the values of freedom and democracy was claimed as an ancient heritage. Opposed to all forms of tyranny and slavery, the warlike, Gothic tribes of northern Europe were popularly believed to have brought down the Roman empire. Roman tyranny was subsequently identified with the Catholic Church, and the production of Gothic novels in northern European Protestant countries often had an anti-Catholic subtext.

(5)

In its consistent equation of Catholicism with barbarism, "monkish superstition," and "priestcraft" (Tarr 18), the Gothic genre has been exposed as a caustic response to what Victor Sage describes as "the campaign for Catholic Emancipation from the 1770s onward until ... the Emancipation Act of 1829" (28-29).

In keeping with the Gothic genre's preoccupation with the issue of identity and its central dynamic of blurring boundaries between self and "Other" (Botting 1996: 11), it should be underlined that its anti-Catholicism also bespeaks deep-seated anxieties about the Protestant world-picture. In his essay entitled "In the Hands of an Angry God: Religious Terror in Gothic Fiction," Joel Porte offers one response to the pressing question, "What are a nice bunch of Protestants doing with a genre like this?" Porte's focus may be Anglo-American Gothic literature, but his psychoanalytic reading of Gothic theological anxieties is revelatory when applied to British Gothic fiction. Porte writes:

Surely the iniquitous convents and monasteries, the moldering catacombs and graveyards, of high Gothic writing represent more than a congeries of discardable props or the simple anticlericalism of Protestant authors. Although the action is so often displaced to a Catholic setting (and that fact of displacement is worth attention), what is represented with great force and conviction is a religious drama, the dark rites of sin, guilt, and damnation.

(45)

Porte essentially categorizes the Gothic genre as a type of moral fable in which Protestant religious anxieties are displaced onto a Catholic scenario. Within this schema, he assesses such figures as Faust, Cain, Prometheus, and the Wandering Jew as prototypical “guilt-haunted wanderer[s]”. He claims that in their manipulation of these figures, Gothic writers produced “fable[s] of inexpressible guilt and unremitting punishment — in which ... [they] saw an image of their own condition and fate” (50). Porte’s argument that these fears are specifically Calvinist in nature, however, limits their significance. It is also probable, particularly in the light of European Enlightenment empiricism, that anxieties about redemption and the existence of God plagued members of all religious denominations.

Two things should be noted about Porte’s “displacement” theory for, while it helps to explain some of the dynamics between Protestantism and Catholicism at work in this genre, it fails to recognize the larger picture. Firstly, Gothic literature may be said to enact a dramatic type of family romance about Christian Britain’s religious past. This romance features a Jewish father and a Catholic (“Mother Church”) mother, and is deeply and ambivalently marked by self-righteousness and anxiety about Anglican/Protestant Britain’s religious inheritance. Secondly, although Porte’s reading of the Wandering Jew as a romantic Everyman figure is illuminating and should not be cast aside, it is important to recognize that the Wandering Jew derives from a specific religious background. Moreover, he does not remain a static figure within the Gothic genre; instead, he undergoes a considerable and noteworthy metamorphosis that reflects both social attitudes about real Jews and an increasingly cohesive sense of British nationalism.

Although the Jewish community was fairly small — there were approximately 8,000 Jews in Britain in the year 1800 (Cohen 62) — it was growing, and debates about the extension of the rights of citizenship to this community elicited a predominantly negative outcry from the British public. Although Frank Felsenstein has correctly noted that the character of the Wandering Jew represented in eighteenth-century British popular culture “owed as much to the novelty of the readmission of actual Jews into the country as

to the ancient roots of the legend itself" (62), Bernard Glassman has articulately illustrated that the number of actual Jews in Britain mattered little to the creation and dissemination of anti-Semitic ideas. Lorna Hutson has also perceptively argued that the number of actual Jews "did not prevent the Jew from becoming symbolically central" to various British debates (226-7). For the record, the number of Catholics in Britain had declined under the penal laws to less than 70,000 (Bostrom 159). As Irene Bostrom has remarked with regard to the terrifying spectre of Catholicism in Gothic fiction, "[m]any English readers would have had only the slightest acquaintance with actual Catholics" (159). Little contact with demonized groups, however, always serves to bolster negative stereotypes. The popular attitude towards Jews and Catholics in late eighteenth-century Britain certainly advocated that none was too many. Particularly in its use of the popular backdrop of the Spanish Inquisition and its representation of demonic Catholics and Jews, the Gothic novel served to articulate and disseminate popular prejudices. Within that genre, anti-Catholicism and anti-Semitism often went hand in hand. Both groups were vital features of a cultural canvas that increasingly represented Anglican/Protestant Britons as the natural, legitimate, and civilized successors to barbarian religious forefathers.

This study hopes to put British Gothic literature into broader historical perspective by illuminating its outstanding debt to a longstanding Christian tradition which linked the Jew to the devil and all things anti-Christian. The demonic spectral Jew had predated the demonic spectral Catholic in the British world-view, and Gothic novelists availed themselves of the rich medieval iconography attached to "the devil Jew" in their works. The Wandering Jew was not, however, the only anti-Semitic ingredient in the Gothic novel. Indeed, if a single rubric may be applied to Gothic literature's semiotics it is "cabalistic," a qualifier that had acquired negative political and religious meaning in Britain by the 1790s, Gothic literature's boom period. The word "cabal" entered the English language, replete with negative connotations, during the latter half of the seventeenth

century when Jews were allowed re-entry into Britain and, by the end of the eighteenth century, the word “Cabala” had become interchangeable with the word “Occult.”

What I call the “cabalistic” backdrop of early Gothic fiction — a backdrop that features such elements as the Spanish Inquisition, conspiratorial anti-Christian secret societies (or cabals), secret sciences, the violation of familial bonds (e.g. patricide and incest), popular millenarian ideas, and the bastardization and demonic figuration of the Cabala as a dark mirror, or double, of the Christian New Testament — was precipitated, in part, by fears that a secular-spiritual “Apocalypse” like the French Revolution would occur on British soil. Many thought that such a cataclysm would signal the Last Days and would occur as a result of an intricate anti-Christian conspiracy which qualified as Gothic fiction in its own right. In its most popular form, this conspiracy plot featured politically subversive secret societies, like the Freemasons and Rosicrucians, believed to be controlled by avaricious Jacobin-like Jews who were advancing their own socio-economic interests to the detriment of British “progress.” This terror was compounded by the threat, as represented by the Great Sanhedrin in France, of Jews gaining national citizenship, thus annihilating the protective barrier between native Briton and foreign Jew. Despite the alteration and reconfiguration of this conspiratorial literature's cabalistic signs, the unholy semiotic Trinity of Judaism-Conspiracy-Revolution/Revelation is consistently retained.

By drawing on scholarship in three areas — Gothic literary criticism, British history, and Jewish studies — and focusing on the aforementioned series of five Gothic novels published over the course of a century from the 1790s to the 1890s, this study hopes to shed some critical light on that genre's intervention in the “Jewish Question” and its significance to the formation of British national identity.¹² In the critical spotlight is the changing face of the Wandering Jew — in legend, Gothic literature, and popular pamphlets — and the cabalistic semiotics of the Gothic genre that reflected pressing British concerns about the nature and development of national identity in its various facets — social, economic, religious, and political. Particularly in the figure of the nationless Wandering

Jew, the Jew became symbolically central to the debates about British national identity in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. At the core of this examination is the issue of inheritance and the ambivalent feelings of desire and anxiety Christian Britons had about the “transmission” of “Jewishness” as it was popularly conceived. Although the inheritance of the Jewish father’s power in its various dimensions was desired, on one hand, by his Christian sons, they were also haunted, as the first Gothic novel, Horace Walpole’s The Castle of Otranto, attests, by the Hebrew commandment that “the sins of fathers are visited on their children to the third and fourth generation” (5). In an effort to justify their involvement in enterprises traditionally associated with the Jew, many Gothic writers became preoccupied with establishing distinctions between father and son, the Jew and the Christian Briton. By restoring each work to its original discursive and historical setting, I aim to explicate the nature, function, and significance of these dynamics and what I refer to in my subtitle as this genre’s complex “spectropoetics.” A more precise and detailed description of this term and my theoretical approach is provided in the following chapter.

As recent provocative studies examining the issue of anti-Semitism among Modernist writers like T.S. Eliot and James Joyce (who created his own Wandering Jew in the figure of Leopold Bloom) unwittingly delineate, Gothic literature’s anti-Semitic spectropoetics spilled over into British realist fiction which featured Jewish characters and/or “the Jewish Question.” Indeed, the tenacious power of Gothic literature’s vampiric Wandering Jew and his attendant cabalistic semiotics is evident in most representations of the Jew and the “Jewish Question” in nineteenth-century fiction. Sir Walter Scott’s Ivanhoe (1819) may extend a certain sympathy towards Jews persecuted in medieval England prior to their expulsion, but they remain a “disinherited and wandering” nation (120) composed of “profound necromancers and cabalists” (126)¹³ who are primarily motivated by avarice (69). In Ivanhoe’s prevalent blood-money theme, the Jew is said to have acquired his wealth “by sucking the blood of his miserable victims” (81). Anthony

Trollope's venomous work, The Way We Live Now (1875), which features Augustus Melmotte, a noteworthy literary relative of Maturin's condemned wanderer, John Melmoth, furnishes evidence of how entrenched the vampiric Wandering Jew image was in Victorian literature. The habits of the vampire cling to Trollope's avaricious foreign interloper who is rumoured to be "fed with the blood of widows and children" (68).

Even when novelists consciously attempt to exorcize the spectre of the Gothic Jew — as in, for example, Maria Edgeworth's Harrington (1817) and George Eliot's Daniel Deronda (1876) — the task proves to be virtually impossible. In Eliot's proto-Zionist novel, for example, the sinister semiotics that indict Augustus Melmotte remain, problematically, intact. Albeit for different reasons than those advanced by Trollope, Jews who convert and remain in England are condemned as vampiric. In response to his questions, "Can a fresh-made garment of citizenship weave itself straightway into the flesh and change the slow deposit of eighteen centuries?" and "What is the citizenship of him who walks among a people he has no hearty kindred and fellowship with, and has lost the sense of brotherhood with his own race?", Mordecai, Eliot's primary Jewish mouthpiece, states:

It is a charter of selfish ambition and rivalry in low greed. He is an alien in spirit, whatever he may be in form; he sucks the blood of mankind, he is not a man. Sharing in no love, sharing in no subjection of the soul, he mocks at all. (587; emphasis added)

Despite her agenda to subvert what she regards as an anti-Semitic tradition in British literature, George Eliot simply relocates the vampiric Jew.

The persistence of the Gothic Jew tradition is examined in my concluding chapter. There, I transgress the official historic and national parameters of this study in order to provide a brief examination of the vampiric Wandering Jew in a cross-section of early twentieth-century European literature and cinema. As Fred Botting has noted, the cinema has especially "perpetuated distinctly Gothic figures" in this century (1996: 13). Two Nazi

propaganda films from 1940 which were specifically produced in order to justify Hitler's Final Solution to exterminate the Jews — Fritz Hippler's Der Ewige Jude (The Eternal Jew) and Veit Harlan's Jew Süss — supply the focus of my conclusion. These grotesque creations provide ample evidence that, in the final analysis, anti-Semitism “ends in persecution ... [and] is a discourse that intends harm” (Julius 11). As Goldhagen has written, antisemitism “is always abstract in its conceptualization and its source (being divorced from actual Jews), and always concrete and real in its effects” (35).

Toni Morrison's eloquent acceptance speech for the 1993 Nobel Prize for Literature perhaps best characterizes the vampiric and oppressive nature of the discourse of hate. She writes:

Oppressive language does more than represent violence; it is violence; does more than represent the limits of knowledge; it limits knowledge.... It is the language that drinks blood, laps vulnerabilities, tucks its fascist boots under crinolines of respectability and patriotism as it moves relentlessly toward the bottom line and the bottomed-out mind. (16; emphasis added)

Ultimately, the Holocaust provided particularly devastating testimony that Gothic literature's anti-Semitic spectropoetics, as distilled into German expressionist cinema and Nazi propaganda films, were not only oppressive and persistent but fatally profound in their consequences. This central Gothic event in our century's history and Morrison's portrait of the language that precipitated it expose the ultimate truth about the Final Solution. Like the vampiric Wandering Jew, anti-Semitism is a disturbing revenant that has been variously repressed and expressed throughout history (LaCapra 189). Anti-Semitism is, in fact, the real vampire that has birthed such demonic figures as the vampiric Wandering Jew by consistently projecting its macabre tendencies onto the Jew.

NOTES

¹ The earliest reference associating Dracula with Judaism may be found in Phyllis A. Roth's excellent, provocative study of Bram Stoker published in 1982 as part of Twayne's English Authors Series. She describes Dracula as a "Faustian Wandering Jew figure" (96-97). Other critics have also, to varying degrees, undertaken the Dracula as Jew theme. See Bram Dijkstra's Idols of Perversity: Fantasies of Feminine Evil in Fin-de-Siècle Culture (1986), pages 342-343; Daniel Pick's "'Terrors of the Night': Dracula and 'Degeneration' in the Late Nineteenth Century" (1988); and William Thomas McBride's "Dracula and Mephistopheles: Shyster Vampires" (1990). The three most detailed examinations of Dracula's "Jewishness," however, are Jules Zanger's 1991 article "A Sympathetic Vibration: Dracula and the Jews," Judith Halberstam's 1995 publication Skin Shows: Gothic Horror and the Technology of Monsters, and H.L. Malchow's chapter entitled "Vampire Gothic" in his 1996 study Gothic Images of Race in Nineteenth-Century Britain.

² I borrow the epithet "Jacob the Ripper" from Judith Walkowitz's City of Dreadful Delight: Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late-Victorian London (203). She uses this name because Jack the Ripper's crimes had taken place in 1888 in Whitechapel, a district of Eastern London so densely populated with Jews that it was known as Jew-town (Feldman 56), and the Ripper was suspected to be Jewish. The "Jewish" connection linking Dracula and Jack the Ripper will be delineated in Chapter Four on Dracula.

³ Roger of Wendover's Flores historiarum and Matthew Paris's Chronica majora from the early thirteenth century provide all of the details of the legend, but their transgressor is Pilate's doorkeeper, a Roman named Cartaphilus, and not a Jew (Anderson 16-21). While

in certain Italian versions of this tale the accursed wanderer is a Jew (19), he is not described as Jewish in the British legend until the early seventeenth century. It is noteworthy that the dissemination of the legend of the Wandering Jew in Britain corresponded to the reentry of the Jews.

⁴ It is significant that the Wandering Jew and the Flying Dutchman are often mentioned together in examinations of the legends of accursed wanderers. In his outline of Wagner's Der Fliegende Holländer in The Standard Operaglass: Detailed Plots of the Celebrated Operas, Charles Annesley draws attention to their connection when he writes, "Wagner arranged the libretto himself, as he did for all his operas which succeeded this one. He found the substance of it in an old legend that dates from the sixteenth century. The flying Dutchman is a sort of wandering Jew, condemned to sail for ever on the seas, until he has found a woman whose love to him is faithful unto death". Only a faithful maiden may break the spell on this "dark and gloomy stranger" as he "vainly roves from sea to sea to find death and with it peace. His only hope is doomsday" (131-2). Wagner was also aware of this association as he deemed his Flying Dutchman an "Ahasuerus of the Ocean" (Rose 25). It is interesting to note that Stoker aborted Dracula's second chapter where Jonathan Harker plans to see Richard Wagner's The Flying Dutchman in Munich (Belford 219).

Katharine M. Briggs examines the tale of the Wandering Jew noting crucial differences between his tale and that of the Flying Dutchman in their most popular forms. As she explains it, "The Christian legend of The Wandering Jew may be compared with the legend of the Flying Dutchman, except that this last is a legend of impiety and pride punished, like many other cautionary tales, while the Wandering Jew is, in almost all its forms, the story of the regeneration of a soul, of penitence and a hard long service rendered to humanity" (137). While Briggs is correct in the main, Hyam Maccoby explains that

another very significant version of this myth existed. I discuss this more negative variant in this chapter.

In his edited collection of Tales of the Wandering Jew, Brian Stableford mentions another cognate tale when he writes, “The notion of immortality is intriguing in itself, but there is evidently some special fascination in the idea of restless immortality as a curse inflicted upon those who offend God — a fascination which is further reflected in other accursed wanderers of legend such as the Flying Dutchman and the Wild Huntsman” (19). Indeed, the Wild Huntsman has been associated with the Wandering Jew in both his ethnicity and his mistreatment of Christ. In Curious Myths of the Middle Ages, Reverend Sabine Baring-Gould notes how one version of the tale describes the Wild Huntsman as “a Jew who refused to allow Jesus to take a drink from his well but contemptuously pointed out to him the hoofprint of a horse in which a little water had collected” (25). George K. Anderson's examination of the Wild Huntsman provides a Jewish link and suggests a vampire connection. With regard to the incredible thirst attributed to Ahasuerus in British versions of the legend dating from 1696 (91) and 1855 (92), Anderson argues: “The motivating great thirst of the visitant [Ahasuerus] is appropriate enough in a land fond of its ale and tea, but there is a strong likelihood that there has been here a transference of the thirst of Christ on the Cross to the man who traditionally insulted him. To be noted ... is the fact that one of the headwaters of the Legend of the Wild Huntsman is an obscure tale of a Jew who, when Christ wished a drink on his way to the Cross, referred him to a puddle in the street” (92). Anderson's transference theory about Ahasuerus's eternal thirst provides a clue as to the Wandering Jew's demonic transformation into a vampire figure. The fusion of the thirsty Ahasuerus with the blood libel transformed him into a vampire with an insatiable thirst for blood.

⁵ In Famous Impostors, Stoker describes Sue's ability to tap into a contemporary anxiety: "A dozen years before, the frightful spread of the cholera, which had once again wrought havoc, woke the whole world to new terror. Some one of uneasy mind who found diversion in obscure comparisons, noted from the records of the disease that its moving showed the same progress in a given direction as a man's walking. A hint was sufficient for the public who eagerly seized the idea that the Wandering Jew had, from the recorded appearance of the cholera, been the fated carrier of that dreaded pestilence. The idea seemed to be a dramatic inspiration and had prehensile grasp. Great as had been the success of the Mysteries of Paris, that of The Wandering Jew surpassed it, and for half a century the new novel kept vividly before its readers the old tradition, and so brought it down to the present" (116).

Like Dracula, Sue's novel features a conspiracy, a secret society, and a vampire sub-plot. In a damning indictment of the Jesuits, Sue compares them to the Thuggee Society in the East "where the gigantic vampire bat sucks the blood of its victims whilst it prolongs their sleep" (85). In one of the most damaging anti-Jesuit episodes, an Indian thug informs the arch-Jesuit Rodin that as the "greatest glory" of the Jesuit order is to make "a corpse of man," they are like the Thugee. The thug states, "... you [Jesuits] kill the soul, and we the body. Give me your hand, brother, for you are also hunters of men.... And what are bodies deprived of soul, will, thought, but mere corpses? Come — come, brother; the dead we make by the cord are not more icy and inanimate than those you make by your discipline. Take my hand, brother, Rome and Bowanee are sisters" (370).

⁶ In his chapter on the Wandering Jew in his book, Curious Myths of the Middle Ages (1866), Sabine Baring-Gould recounts that "Men who were either impostors claiming to be the Wandering Jew, or lunatics who actually believed they were this unhappy man, appeared in England in 1818, 1824 and 1830 according to an analysis in the Athenaeum of

3 November 1866. No later firm reports of him have occurred" (25). In her examination of "Legends of Lilith and the Wandering Jew," Katharine M. Briggs recounts earlier instances of this phenomenon: "In the eighteenth century there were said to be imposters who falsely claimed to be the Wandering Jew, as well as madmen who believed themselves to be him. So we may really say that from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century the tradition of the Wandering Jew was consecutively held" (139). In his article "The Wandering Jew and the Second Coming" published in a recent issue of Free Inquiry, Martin Gardner explains Wandering Jew sightings in more contemporary terms and mentions their occurrence in the United States: "The legend seems to have first been recorded in England in the thirteenth century before it rapidly spread throughout Europe (sic). It received an enormous boost in the seventeenth century when a pamphlet appeared in Germany about a Jewish shoemaker named Ahasuerus who claimed to be the Wanderer. The pamphlet was endlessly reprinted in Germany and translated into other languages. The result was a mania comparable to today's manias for seeing UFOs, Abominable Snowmen, and Elvis Presley. Scores of persons claiming to be the Wandering Jew turned up in cities all over England and Europe during the next two centuries. In the United States as late as 1868 a Wandering Jew popped up in Salt Lake City, home of the Mormon Adventist sect" (32).

⁷ As David Feldman outlines in his essay, "The Importance of Being English: Jewish Immigration and the Decay of Liberal England," the communal institution known as the Jewish Board of Guardians (JBG) was "the chief source of relief for the Jewish poor but combined relief with other projects of a more remedial nature focusing upon the deserving poor. Among these were funds providing for programmes of apprenticeship and emigration, and the provision of small loans." "[O]n account of their financial support and administrative expertise" (62), the Anglo-Jewish élite — the interrelated banking and

broking families of the Rothschilds, Cohens, and Montagus — dominated the Jewish communal institutions. As Feldman notes, the JBG's efforts in this area were impressive. "Between 1881 and 1906 it returned to eastern Europe over 31,000 Jews.... A rough-and-ready guide to the scale of this operation is that the number repatriated was equal to 56 per cent of the total increase in the number of Jewish immigrants in London between 1881 and 1911" (63).

⁸ Among other critics, Robert Casillo and Bryan Cheyette disagree with Rosenberg's theory of the generally static nature of the Jew in English literature. In his study of Ezra Pound, The Genealogy of Demons: Anti-Semitism, Fascism, and the Mythos of Ezra Pound (1988), Casillo argues that the Jew functions as the archetypal transgressor of boundaries who remains indefinable. He assumes the role as a confused, protean double within a writer's work. Cheyette echoes Casillo in Constructions of "The Jew" in English Literature and Society: Racial Representations, 1875-1945 (1993) where he writes:

Instead of employing a predetermined "system" that "explains" a given set of representations, the one ironically consistent feature of the literary representations under consideration is the protean instability of "the Jew" as a signifier. The radical emptiness and lack of a fixed meaning in the constructions of "semitic" difference in this study results in "the Jew" being made to occupy an incommensurable number of subject positions which traverse a range of contradictory discourses. This indeterminate, fluid reading of "the Jew", exploited to the full in literary texts, result in semitic representations being utilized in a bewildering variety of contexts (8).

⁹ See Peter Stansky's review of Ragussis in Victorian Studies. He argues that Ragussis's claim that "'the Jewish question' [was] at the center of England's national agenda ... [and]

at the heart of England national identity", is "possible but certainly not provable" (408). John Kucich offers a similar criticism in his review of Ragussis's study in Nineteenth-Century Literature. Kucich writes, "Arguments for the 'centrality' of Jewishness or conversion ideology also sometimes seem too absolute — a problem of inflated rhetoric that troubles most cultural-studies work these days — and the explanations as to why Jewish conversion was so 'central' to English nationalism are, at times, a bit miscellaneous" (532).

¹⁰ Linda Colley argues that the primary "Other" against which Christian Britain defined itself was Catholic France. With the advent of British imperialist expansion, "Others" later included a variety of colonized peoples. Colley explains her theory on national identity formation in general and British national identity formation in particular, as follows: "Time and time again, war with France brought Britons, whether they hailed from Wales or Scotland or England, into confrontation with an obviously hostile Other and encouraged them to define themselves collectively against it. They defined themselves as Protestants struggling for survival against the world's foremost Catholic power. They defined themselves against the French as they imagined them to be, superstitious, militarist, decadent and unfree. And, increasingly as the wars went on, they defined themselves in contrast to the colonial peoples they conquered, peoples who were manifestly alien in terms of culture, religion and colour" (5). While Colley does not mention the Jewish role in British national identity formation, her description of the process surrounding the forging of national identity would recognize the validity of their inclusion. Furthermore, in the light of the equation established between Jew and Jacobin in 1790s Britain that I chronicle in Chapter Two, the Jewish "Other" found himself, to some degree, in the traditional "French" enemy camp as delineated by Colley.

¹¹ The 1767 chapbook printed in Hull entitled The Wandering Jew, or, The shoemaker of Jerusalem: who lived when our lord and saviour Jesus Christ was crucified, and by him appointed to wander until he comes again; with his discourse with some clergymen about the end of the world, features a penitent Wandering Jew who prophesies the conversion of the entire Jewish nation. After travelling through Asia, Africa, and America, he journeys to every town in Europe (2-3). This chapbook is based on his discourse with four clergymen in Hull during this Grand Tour. Endowed with the ability to prophesy, “a peculiar forte of the Jews” (Felsenstein 43), he informs them “that before the End of the World the Jews shall be gathered together from all Parts of the World, and return to Jerusalem, and live there, and it shall flourish as much as ever, and that they, and all others, shall become Christians, and that Wars shall cease, and the whole World live in Unity with one another” (7-8).

¹² Cannon Schmitt's recent study Alien Nation: Nineteenth-Century Gothic Fictions and English Nationality (1997) is the first critical study to my knowledge that claims for Gothic literature an important role in the construction of British national identity. While Schmitt's work illustrates that a profound xenophobia exists at the core of British Gothic literature, his primary argument that the besieged female in Gothic narratives stands in for a besieged nation-state is fairly simplistic and, as such, is often more problematic than illuminating. Among other problems, it tends to downplay and sometimes even to deny the concerns of the sub-genre known as Female Gothic. Although Schmitt reiterates his principal claim that “in the Gothic the English nation is defined primarily against that which it is not — against an anti- or alien nation” (164), he consistently resists any discussion or description of the nature and changing face of British nationalism over the course of a century — from the publication of Ann Radcliffe's The Italian in 1797 to the publication of Bram Stoker's Dracula in 1897.

¹³ As will be made clear in Chapter Two, Scott's description of Jews as "profound necromancers and cabalists" (126) is an anachronism given his novel's medieval setting. Christians became aware of the Cabala only during the Renaissance.

Chapter One

Anti-Semitic Spectropoetics:

The Skeleton in British Gothic Literature's Closet

Among the living nations of the earth the Jews are as a nation long since dead... [A]fter the Jewish people had ceased to exist as an actual state, as a political entity, they could nevertheless not submit to total annihilation — they lived on spiritually as a nation. The world saw in this people the uncanny form of one of the dead walking among the living. The ghostlike apparition of a living corpse, of a people without unity or organization, without land or other bonds of unity, no longer alive, and yet walking among the living — this spectral form without precedence in history, unlike anything that preceded or followed it, could [not] but strangely affect the imagination of the nations. And if the fear of ghosts is something inborn, and has a certain justification in the psychic life of mankind, why be surprised at the effect produced by this dead but still living nation?

A fear of the Jewish ghost has passed down the generations and the centuries. First a breeder of prejudice ... it culminated in Judeophobia ... a variety of demonopathy with the distinction that it is not peculiar to particular races but is common to the whole of mankind, and that this ghost is not disembodied like other ghosts but partakes of flesh and blood, must endure pain inflicted by the fearful mob who imagines itself endangered. (Pinsker 163)¹

In his classical work of Zionism entitled “Auto-Emancipation: An Appeal to His People by a Russian Jew,” published anonymously in German in Berlin in 1882, Leo Pinsker isolated and described what he perceived to be a prevalent, universal “disease.” His name for this “psychic aberration” was “Judeophobia,” and he deemed it “hereditary,” “incurable” (163) and, “like ... the real wandering Jew”, eternal (164). In what amounted to a pseudo-medical treatise about the pathological nature of undying anti-Semitism, Pinsker, a Russian medical doctor, advocated that the “cure” to Judeophobia lay in what he called auto-emancipation. Addressing his fellow Jews, a people he described both as “chosen” because “chosen for universal hatred” (164) and as “alien everywhere” (166) because they are at “home everywhere, but are nowhere at home” (162), Pinsker presented

a lament and a rational solution. After entreating them not to “consent to play forever the hopeless role of the ‘Wandering Jew’ ... [for it] is a truly hopeless one, leading to despair” (171), he stated: “That we may not be compelled to wander from one exile to another, we must have an extensive, productive land of refuge, a center which is our own”. “The international Jewish question,” Pinsker concluded, “must have a national solution” (174).

Perhaps the aspect of Pinsker's famous essay that is most striking to the modern reader is its masterful use of rhetoric. Particularly from a post-Holocaust perspective, however, Pinsker's primary trope of the Jew as spectre is extremely unsettling. It is crucial to recognize that this image did not originate with his essay. Indeed, as Léon Poliakov has insightfully noted, the figure of the Wandering Jew epitomizes the Jewish nation in the German consciousness and has always been associated in that country with the realm of the supernatural. There, that legendary figure is known as “the eternal Jew (ewige Jude)” (56), an epithet that highlights his immortal state. Susan Shapiro has further illustrated in her 1997 article, “The Uncanny Jew: A Brief History of an Image,” that the motif of the Jew as demonic spectre was well established in German letters by the time Pinsker penned his manifesto. While Moses Hess had described the Jew as “a soul without a body, wandering like a ghost through the centuries” (66), Heinrich Heine had portrayed them as a nation embalmed. Speaking implicitly to the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century German theory about the Egyptian origins of Judaism, Heine wrote:

Oh, those Egyptians — their handiwork defies time, their pyramids still stand immovable; their mummies are [as] indestructible as ever. And just as indestructible is the [Jewish] mummy-nation that wanders over the face of the earth, wrapped in its age-old scroll of the law; a petrified piece of world-history — a specter, which for a livelihood trafficks in bills of exchange and old clothes. (69)

Recent scholarship has considered the “recurrent theme [of alienness] in anti-Jewish polemics” (Katz 1980: 87). In his controversial book Hitler's Willing Executioners:

Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust, for example, Daniel Jonah Goldhagen relates: “Whether conceived of as religion, nation, political group, or race, the Jew was always a Fremdkörper, an alien body within Germany” (55). For many Germans, contact with this “undead” Jewish spectre was considered to be, literally, fatal (70). As Jews were associated with disease, this eternal, “undead” “race” was perceived as both a moral and a mortal threat to Christians. Instead of Schopenhauer’s proposed solution to “exorcise” this ghost by way of Jew-Gentile intermarriage (Shapiro 1996: 66), the Nazis advocated exorcism by way of extermination.

Although the trope of the spectral, alien, undead Jew filtered into the British legal tradition in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries when Jews were officially referred to in the standard “bureaucratese” (LaCapra 188) as “aliens” (Shapiro 1996: 181), Jewish alien-ness subsequently assumed an increasingly racial dimension and became significant to the British literary tradition. Indeed, if an arch-spectre were to be chosen from among those inhabiting the British cultural consciousness, that figure would be the Jew. Distorted representations of the Jew and his cultural heritage constitute what I call Gothic literature’s anti-Semitic “spectropoetics.” I borrow this term from Jacques Derrida’s Specters of Marx: The State of the Debt, the Work of Mourning, and the New International which assesses Marx’s rhetorical “‘spectropoetics’ — his obsession with ghosts, specters and spirits”². Indebted to Freudian psychoanalysis, Derrida defines the spectre as “among other things, what one imagines, what one thinks one sees and which one projects — on an imaginary screen where there is nothing to see” (100–101).

Derrida’s description of psychological projection is extremely applicable to the figure of the Wandering Jew in Gothic literature. As I hope to illustrate, this wanderer is a complex product of the projection process. Two of the most pressing questions I address in this study are: what ideas are ascribed to this increasingly vampiric figure, and what purpose does he serve in assuming these features? Before turning to a more detailed theoretical examination of psychological projection and the significance of the legendary

Wandering Jew, it should be noted that in the wake of historical revisionism and poststructural theory, the popular Austrian statement, “Every country has the Jew it deserves” (Webb 179), should be radically revised to read, “Every country creates the imaginary Jew it requires.” For my more limited focus, the statement might read, “Every country creates the imaginary Wandering Jew it requires.”

As several cultural critics have observed, the creation of the generic “Jew” served the crucial purpose of defining, by contrast, the national character along religious, political, sexual, and economic lines. The same may be said of the vampiric Wandering Jew whose lack of a nation and transgression of all national boundaries made him a particularly suitable “Other” against which the developing British nation and its inhabitants could distinguish themselves. As such, this figure assumed the role as foremost European “Other,” a position equivalent to what Toni Morrison describes as the role of the African-American in American literature (1992: ix).³ In the realm of Europe, however, Paul Lawrence Rose relates that “For nineteenth-century Germans, so unsure of their own ‘Germanness,’ the Jewish Question was ultimately the German Question. It was, in effect, another way of asking ‘What is German?’ and receiving the satisfying answer — ‘whatever is not Jewish’” (41). Since the Middle Ages, the Jewish Question has played a similar role in Britain. Especially in terms of religious and economic issues, the response to the question, “What is British?” has often been “whatever is not Jewish.” In its intervention in the critical debate about national identity formation, the Gothic novel effectively posed this question and provided this response. As a detailed examination of the Wandering Jew reveals, British Gothic authors ultimately exposed their own desires, fears, and anxieties about the development of British national identity by way of their portraits of this figure.

Given what Joshua Trachtenberg has so brilliantly delineated as the longstanding representation of the Jew as devil in the worldview of medieval Christian Europe⁴, it was almost inevitable that this figure would be pressed into service centuries later as a vital spectre in the Gothic genre. Most of the taboos at the core of that genre — such as incest,

fratricide, miscegenation, and castration — may be said to involve blood in either a literal or a figurative sense (as in the concept of blood-money, or familial or “racial” blood-ties). They are also, invariably, inextricably bound up with the Jew, the figure who had long played the role as primary anti-Christian “Other.” In order to decipher British Gothic literature’s anti-Semitic spectropoetics and the role of its star figure, the increasingly vampiric Wandering Jew, it is crucial to consider the make-up of his principal forefather, the anti-Semite’s Jew of the Middle Ages. Since “medieval Christendom did not distinguish between the religious and social realms as we do today, its theology became law and social policy. Hence, the Jews came to be seen not only as a religious Other but as a socially and economically disruptive figure as well” (Gregg 171).

The specifically anti-Christian nature of the litany of bloody practices attributed to the Jews cannot be over-emphasized. In what became known as the “blood libel,” Jews were accused of desecrating the Host and of murdering “non-Jews so their blood could be used ... [for] the Passover seder”, the prolongation of life (Trachtenberg 215), and other purposes (Friedman 52).⁵ It is highly significant that the “first recorded blood libel in medieval Europe took place at Norwich [England] in 1144” (Efron 34). As this alleged ritual sacrifice of William of Norwich in 1144 and that of Hugh of Lincoln in 1254 attested, Jews in medieval Britain were regarded as being, first and foremost, Christ-killers who delighted in mocking the Passion. As historian David Katz has pointed out, it was for such reasons that Jews were expelled from Britain in the year 1290. Edward I “... did not expel the Jews because of their religion”, Katz explains, “‘but for their notorious Crimes; as, poysoning of wels, counterfeiting of coins, falsifying of seals, and crucifying of Christian children, with other villainies’” (191).⁶

Other taboo blood-related activities attributed to the Jews in medieval Britain included incest, cannibalism, ritual circumcision, and male menstruation. As this list attests, Christians often distorted Jewish cultural and religious practices. Jewish endogamy was misrepresented as incest (a violation of blood relations in the Christian world-view),

and kosher practices involving ritual slaughter (based on the directive, first outlined in Genesis 9.4, that Noah and his descendants should not consume “flesh with the life thereof which is the blood thereof”) were demonized as cannibalistic. In some instances, Jewish religious practices were represented as a macabre parody of Christian religious practices. While Christians were portrayed as participating in spiritually enlightened Masses, Jews were said to engage in satanic Black Masses involving macabre rituals.

As it involved blood and bloodsucking⁷, the Jewish rite of circumcision spoke to a variety of Christian fears. It also subtended the popular Christian portrait of the Jews as a materialistic, flesh-bound nation divorced from the spiritual world and divine love. Although Paul was himself circumcised and had circumcised others (Shapiro 1996: 117), his remarks on this Jewish practice, once he had become a Christian convert, called Jewish identity into question and implied that that nation was spiritually blind. Aware that this rite was based on a tradition expressly referred to in Deuteronomy 10.16 and 30.6 which read, “Circumcise the foreskin of your heart,” and “The Lord thy God will circumcise thine heart”, Paul wrote, “He is not a Jew which is one outward, neither is that circumcision, which is outward in the flesh. But he is a Jew which is one within, and the circumcision is of the heart, in the spirit, not in the letter, whose praise is not of men, but of God” (Shapiro 1997: 118). Central to Paul's statements is the idea of Jews as the people of the Book and the Law who are bound to the literal, material world, and blind to the realm of the spiritual and the figurative.

Whether or not the distinguishing “mark” of circumcision drew parallels in medieval times with the mark of Cain remains a matter for speculation. There is “a long history of describing the male Jew as having been born circumcised” (Gilman 1993: 52), however, and Theodor Reik, one of Freud's early supporters, considered the possibility of the Cain-circumcision connection in an article in 1919. In his argument “that the origin of circumcision lay in the self-mutilation of Cain as his punishment for an act of incest” (Gilman 1993: 85) Reik actually combines anti-Semitic stereotypes. As this sign of Jewish

difference was considered to be, as Sander Gilman has noted, a deceptively “hidden” mark of membership in “the secret [Jewish] race” (1991: 18), the Medieval Church saw fit to impose a more visible mark of Cain on the Jews. The Fourth Lateran Council, called by Innocent III in 1215, instituted “a distinctive Jewish garb” and a badge that were mandatory attire for all members of the Jewish community (Trachtenberg 116). Several surviving illustrations of Satan wearing a Jew badge (Trachtenberg, frontispiece) — including one in which Satan is shown participating in “Jewish financial transactions” (195) — are a disturbing testament to the popular medieval idea of the Jew as devil. Furthermore, Trachtenberg relates how this badge was regarded as a type of mark of Cain worn by a demonic, nation-less brotherhood: “with a little ingenuity the Jew badge may be explained altogether as a sign of the Jews' allegiance to the devil, as medieval versifiers ultimately get around to doing” (26).

England was the first European nation to adopt the Jew badge in 1218 (Glassman 16), a move that seemed intended to safeguard that country from a group it regarded as conspiratorial and, effectively, in league with the devil. As Saul Friedländer has written:

The Christian phantasm of a Jewish plot against the Christian community may itself have been a revival of the pagan notion that the Jews were enemies of humanity acting in secret against the rest of the world. According to popular medieval Christian legend, “a secret rabbinical synod convened periodically from all over Europe to determine which community was in turn to commit ritual murder.” (84)

The popular view of the Jews as a criminal and conspiratorial nation of Christ-killers with indelible blood on its hands, coloured all subsequent libels against them. This attitude had, in large part, derived from the story of Cain. Frank Felsenstein explains the origins of this association in his book, Anti-Semitic Stereotypes:

From Genesis, the story of Cain, “cursed from the earth” (4:11) for the murder of Abel, his brother, helped promote the belief that not only he, but

also the people of the Old Testament, should in later ages be “a fugitive and a vagabond in the earth” (4:14). Significantly, the slain figure of Abel had been “a keeper of sheep” (4:2), offering unto God the firstling of the flock, in symbolic terms prefiguring the sacrificial role of Christ in the New Testament. Christian typologists descried no obstacle in forging parallels between Abel's treatment at the hand of Cain and the treatment of Christ by the Jews. (59)

Reverend Sabine Baring-Gould has also noted that the legend of the Wandering Jew “has been taken as a crystallisation of the odyssey of the descendants of Cain, wandering over the earth with the brand of a brother's blood as their curse” (25). The conception of the Jews as a lupine nation guilty of slaughtering the lamb of God is also carried over into the Wandering Jew legend. That exile's rejection of Christ represents the ultimate blood-related violation and, like Cain's bloody fratricide, it is penalized by nationlessness and eternal wandering. Cain is, as Hyam Maccoby aptly phrases it, “condemned to life” (241). As Cain's subsequent coupling with “his wife” must have involved incest either with his mother, Eve, or an unmentioned and unnamed sister, his association with the Jews is further established in the medieval world-view. According to that framework, Cain was the father of monsters and since the Jews were believed to be his descendants, they were deemed to be abominations rather than men. A final significant point of contact linking Cain and the Wandering Jew involves the former's mark which ensured that no one would kill Cain and so deliver him from his punishment. In a tradition that appears to have begun in Spain, the Wandering Jew is similarly indelibly inscribed. This accursed wanderer is usually portrayed with a flaming cross on his brow (Railo 193).

In what is perhaps the most absurd blood libel claim, namely that Jewish men menstruated four times a year⁸, an obvious attempt is made to undermine the Jewish nation by characterizing it as effeminate. This libel, however, has other deep-seated religious implications. As Lawrence Osborne has noted, it was “the thirteenth-century anatomist

Thomas de Cantimpré [who] wrote the first 'scientific' account of this bloody and improbable phenomenon, and supplied the sensational theory that it was a sign of the Father's curse by way of punishment for their denial of Christ" (129). Like most "curses" associated with the Jew — de Cantimpré also mentions hemorrhoids (Trachtenberg 148) — this one involves blood and originated at the Crucifixion, an event which Christians perceived as the Jewish "Fall" from God's grace. For both Eve and the Jew, therefore, the "curse" (menstruation) was one form of retribution for transgressing divine law.

Given the renown of these literally bloody myths, it should come as no surprise that, as Joshua Trachtenberg has so aptly demonstrated, "English literature [has] regularly described the Jews as 'bloudie'" (125). The popular and perverse knife-wielding Jew featured in medieval religious drama who took pleasure in acts of "torture, crucifixion and rape" (Rubin 53), is the obvious ancestor of most Jewish literary characters. This thirteenth-century Judas figure, with his signature "bloody" red beard and heavy money bags (Felsenstein 31), maintained the connection between blood and money which was vital to the story of Christ's betrayal. This "apostle of the cash nexus" (Rosenberg 97) also anticipated Shakespeare's infamous usurer, Shylock, who so ardently pursued his pound of flesh. The blood-money theme may be significantly reconfigured in the latter representation — Judas gains money in exchange for Christ's blood while Shylock seeks flesh in compensation for "lost" money — but the Jewish nation is portrayed in both instances as spiritually benighted, money-hungry, and bloodthirsty. Antonio's friend, Gratiano, articulates this popular anti-Semitic image when he describes Shylock's desires as "wolvish, bloody, starv'd and ravenous" (IV.i.137-138).

This notion of the Jews as bloodthirsty was especially employed in popular representations of their economic activity. Although they engaged in a variety of commercial activities, Jews were particularly associated with moneylending⁹, an activity for which Christians were excommunicated in the Middle Ages (Mergenthal 320). As

James Shapiro has delineated in his illuminating study Shakespeare and the Jews, the discourse around usury in Britain incorporated the notion of cannibalism. He explains:

William Prynne ... [a Puritan zealot of the seventeenth century] quoting from the Tudor chronicler John Speed, writes that "by their cruel usuries" the Jews have "eaten" the English "people to the bones." Moreover, exorbitant moneylending was often referred to as "biting" usury, and the elision of Jews as economic exploiters and literal devourers of Christian flesh was easily made. This may in part be explained by the philological determination of Elizabethan writers on usury, whose Hebrew was good enough to know that the biblical word for lending at interest, neshech, also meant "to bite." (110)

This "biting" image gave a sense of immediacy to Jewish usury by effectively linking the personal and the political: the act of "biting" the body was linked to that of putting the economic bite on the body politic. It was perhaps this image that underpinned the popular and grotesque act of the dentition of the Jews in the early Middle Ages. In a disturbing act of displacement, King John and subsequent English rulers of the House of Plantagenet punished wealthy, "usurious" Jews by extorting large sums of money from them. The bloody process of dentition, which involved removing one of the Jewish victim's teeth every day until he handed over a stipulated sum (Brewer 681), was a popular extortion method.¹⁰

It would seem that the figuration of the Jew as canine and lupine (in possession of fang-like canine teeth) was bound up with this economic reading of the blood libel. Shylock, Shakespeare's "wolvish" (IV.i.137), "currish Jew" (IV.i.292), cautions Antonio that since he regards Shylock as a "cut-throat dog" (I.iii.111), he should "beware ... [his] fangs" (III.iii.6-7).¹¹ This image is suggested in a German illustration of a Jew hung upside down between dogs with cut throats, a popular and gruesome method of execution for Jews accused of the blood libel. As R. Po-chia Hsia explains in The Myth of Ritual

Murder, this manner of execution “mimicked a reversed Crucifixion: Christ was crucified between two thieves” (28). This image of the “fanging” Jew is also evoked in the 1640 British book, “The Wandering-Jew, Telling Fortunes to English-men.” In that curious work which links the Wandering Jew with the Antichrist — his Hebraic appellation is Gad Ben-arod, Ben Balaam, Ben Ahimoth, Ben-Baal, Ben-Gog, Ben-Magog — an extortioner who comes to hear his fortune told by an English Christian in the guise of the Wandering Jew, informs his fortune-teller that he (the extortioner) is also a Jew for he “fang[s] ... Citizen[s]” (36).

In this seventeenth-century image of the “fanging” Jew and the popular libel which maintained that Jews consumed human blood as “they believe[d] that the sacrifice of an innocent life ... [would] prolong their own lives” (Trachtenberg 215), one may discern, without much effort, an emerging vampire motif. As H.L. Malchow has argued, “There was always a metaphoric vampirism in the traditional image of the Jew as usurer, as bloodsucker” (160). The popular medieval view of the Jews as an infectious nation of poisoners responsible for the great plagues of the period (Walker 472) also shares much with vampire folklore which figures vampirism as a type of infectious disease. Indeed, it is highly intriguing that the appearance of vampirism in folklore coincided with serious outbreaks of plague throughout Europe (Marigny 24, 61), and that two of the most significant early descriptions of a “bloodsucking corpse” (cadaver sanguisugus) appear in two twelfth-century British chronicles composed in Latin (24). As both Jews and vampires were considered to be accursed agents of the devil, it is understandable that they would be similarly demonized in medieval anti-Christian symbolism.

The complex, multifaceted Jewish blood libel may be said to have subsequently “infected” many of the popular demonic figures in Gothic literature. As I explain in the following chapter, this intricate process involved the Jewish theosophical tradition known as the Cabala which became synonymous with magic during the early Renaissance (Trachtenberg 77). Since that time, secret societies were popularly conceived to be socially

subversive, power-hungry cabals whose doctrines were founded upon the Cabala. Given this connection, it is not surprising that the Faust story, for example, has a Jewish connection. As Trachtenberg relates, the “earliest German version of ... [that] legend pits a Jew against the devil to whose wiles ... the Jew succumbs” (23). The warning to Christians about anti-Christian activities is explicitly stated in that work: “Thus can the devil lead into error the minds of those whose hearts do not cleave to God’s word” (23).

Although Faust is not represented as a Jew in later versions of that drama, Faustian figures in Gothic literature may be said to be tarred with the brush of the Jewish blood libel. In such tales as Adalbert von Chamisso’s Peter Schlemihl (1813) which presents a Jewish Faustian character¹², the reader encounters the popular image of the Jew as a gambling, Faustian, secret society magician who wilfully exchanges his spiritual soul for material gain. As I argue in Chapter Four, Count Dracula also falls into this category. Moreover, the infernal equation of Jew and devil is retained in subsequent versions of the Faust legend in the form of the seductive Mephistopheles.¹³ Trachtenberg notes that “Satan’s semitic features are often emphasized with grotesque exaggeration ... [and] Mephistopheles is usually swarthy, hook-nosed, [and] curly-headed” (26). In his unique study Money, Language, and Thought: Literary and Philosophic Economies from the Medieval to the Modern Era, Marc Shell suggests a vampiric dimension to the Faust legend when he describes Mephistopheles as a “vampyric (*sic*) devil” who “does not care what kind of paper is used ... [as long as] Faust sign[s] (*unterzeichnen*) in blood” (88; emphasis added).¹⁴ Based on Trachtenberg’s claim that “until recent times it was still believed in parts of Europe that the pact with the devil must be written in Jewish blood” (141), it would seem that the connection between Judaism and the Faust myth was established in some European folk culture. By way of the combination of the Wandering Jew and Faust — a union labelled the “Faust-group” by literary critic Eino Railo (201)¹⁵ — this association is channelled into Gothic literature. Indeed, when the Wandering Jew and Faust legends are combined within that genre, the vampiric Wandering Jew is produced.

This intricate blood libel theme and the figure of the sinister Jewish “Other” engaged with the demonized Cabala constitute the feature elements in Gothic literature’s anti-Semitic spectropoetics. As Daniel Jonah Goldhagen relates, the blood libel theme and other anti-Semitic ideas were Christian projections which varied according to socio-historic context:

Antisemitism tells us nothing about Jews, but much about antisemites and the culture that breeds them. Even a cursory glance at the qualities and powers that antisemites through the ages have ascribed to Jews — supernatural powers, international conspiracies, and the ability to wreck economies; using the blood of Christian children in their rituals, even murdering them for their blood; being in league with the Devil; controlling simultaneously both the levers of international capital and of Bolshevism — indicates that antisemitism draws fundamentally on cultural sources that are independent of the Jews’ nature and actions, and the Jews themselves then become defined by the culturally derived notions which antisemites project onto them. (39)

In his 1946 publication Anti-Semite and Jew, Jean-Paul Sartre concurs with Goldhagen’s projection thesis when he writes, “it is not the Jewish character that provokes anti-Semitism but, rather, ... it is the anti-Semite who creates the Jew” (143). In another passage, Sartre goes further: “Far from experience producing his [the anti-Semite’s] idea of the Jew, it was the latter which explained his experience. If the Jew did not exist, the anti-Semite would invent him” (13). As Julia Kristeva argues in Powers of Horror, this “phantasmatic” figure known as the anti-Semite’s Jew epitomizes ambivalence (180) and represents abjection — this figure does not “respect borders, positions, rules” and “disturbs identity, system, [and] order” (4). Sartre also notes the contradictory signs projected onto this demonic “Other”:

We are told in almost the same breath that behind the Jew lurks international capitalism and the imperialism of the trusts and the munitions makers, and that he is the front man for piratical Bolshevism with a knife between its teeth. There is no embarrassment or hesitation about imputing responsibility for communism to Jewish bankers, whom it would horrify, or responsibility for capitalist imperialism to the wretched Jews who crowd the rue des Rosiers. (38-39)

These contradictory, "hateful, phantasmagoric pseudo-identities" projected onto the Jew (Nochlin 8) are necessary to his Frankenstein-like Christian creator. The primary purpose of the Wandering Jew in legend, however, is that of an "Other" who assuages Christian guilt. Despite the fact that, as Sartre points out, "Christ was executed by the Romans as a political agitator" (67), the Jews were blamed for the Crucifixion. They effectively became scapegoats, therefore, in the ultimate Christian purgation ritual. Christian guilt for this human sacrifice was initially transferred to the Jew by way of the figure of Judas and, later, by way of the figure of the Wandering Jew. I quote at length from Hyam Maccoby who has so intelligently outlined the rationale behind, and the serious long-term consequences of, the sacrificial act of Crucifixion:

The drawback of human sacrifice, as a purge of guilt, is that it sets up a new burden of guilt in connection with the human sacrifice itself. Who is going to take upon himself the guilt of carrying out the human sacrifice? The answer is to arrange, mythopoeically, for the sacrifice to be carried out for unworthy motives by someone who can then be regarded as evil. In this way, the devotees, who benefit by the sacrifice can wash their hands of responsibility for it, and drive away with pious horror the wretch who performs the sacrifice for them. Pilate, washing his hands of responsibility for the blood of Jesus, is thus the perfect and prophetic symbol of the Christian Church, for whom the Jews took over the responsibility of

performing the sacrifice which was indispensable to the salvation of all Christian believers. An exact formulation of this solution to the problem of guilt is found in the Gospels: 'The Son of man goeth as it is written of him; but woe unto that man by whom the Son of man is betrayed. It had been good for that man if he had not been born.' (Matt. XXVI, 24; see also Luke XXII, 22.) The man spoken of is Judas, but the text applies to the Jewish people as a whole, and to their symbol, the Wandering Jew. The human sacrifice has to be performed, but woe unto the man who performs it! (244-245; emphasis added)

Otto Rank's description of the "double" in his seminal 1925 study of that figure concurs with Maccoby's interpretation of the Jews' role in this complex act of guilt projection. As Rank relates, "The most prominent symptom of the forms which the double takes is a powerful consciousness of guilt which forces the hero no longer to accept the responsibility for certain actions of his ego, but to place it upon another ego, a double, who is either personified by the devil himself or is created by making a diabolical pact" (76).

Rank's examination highlights the complexity of the double's significance for while he is "Other" when he functions as scapegoat, he is also, simultaneously, "brother" for he enacts the projector's desires. As Rank describes it, "'the terrifying phantom of the double' ... 'fulfills the secret, always suppressed wishes of ... [the projector's] soul'" (76). Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno's insights into the function of the Jew in Nazi Germany, as outlined in their work The Dialectic of Enlightenment, help to shed light on the Jew's role as the Christian's double. They argue that the Nazis' projection onto the Jew is both pathological (199) and morbid (192):

The Jews today are the group which calls down upon itself, both in theory and in practice, the will to destroy born of a false social order. They are branded as evil by those who are absolutely evil, and are now in fact the chosen race.... The portrait of the Jews that the nationalists offer to the

world is in fact their own self-portrait. They long for total possession and unlimited power, at any price. They transfer their guilt for this to the Jews, whom as masters they despise and crucify, repeating ad infinitum a sacrifice which they cannot believe to be effective. (168-9)¹⁶

Horkheimer and Adorno's theory is similar to that of Rank's concept of a scapegoat-double produced by projection. Goldhagen's outline of how one "liberal 'friend' of the Jews once opined, 'The Jew appears ... as a distortion, a shadow, the dark side of human nature'" (55) lends support both to Rank's thesis and to Horkheimer and Adorno's view that the Jew functioned both as a mirror of the National Socialists' vampiric longing for unlimited power and as a scapegoat upon whom they transferred their guilt for this desire.

When these theories about the Jew's function as a scapegoated "Other" are brought to bear on the Wandering Jew's role in Gothic literature, much is revealed about that genre's engagement with issues of national identity formation. It must first be noted, however, that the presence of the Wandering Jew in the Gothic genre is particularly appropriate. Not only is he emblematic of endless Gothic narrative (Kilgour 158), but also, given established anti-Semitic stereotypes, he is entirely at home within this conspiratorial "world with a plot" (Coates 3). Furthermore, in that that genre is preoccupied with eschatology — the four last things: death, judgement, heaven and hell — and the return of the repressed, it provides the perfect space for his (usually) cameo appearances. It is fitting that this millenarian figure who reminds readers of Revelation, appears in texts which usually deploy the thematic of the revelation of buried family secrets and the repressed guilt associated with them. While the Wandering Jew partakes of Judas's role as guilty Jewish scapegoat responsible for the Crucifixion, he also points forward to the Millennium, Christ's Second Coming. The Wandering Jew's recurrent secular "resurrection" is represented as punishment. Every time he reaches the age of one hundred, he "is seized by a sickness culminating in a trance, from which he emerges once again as a man of thirty, — the age he was when Jesus suffered" (Railo 191). This

excruciatingly repetitive “undeath” is vampire-like and stands in direct opposition to the reward of the single and final spiritual resurrection that Christians hope to gain at the Millennium. The Wandering Jew is, therefore, a Janus-faced figure whose existence spans all of Christian history: he points backward to remind Christians of the Jewish Ur-crime of the Crucifixion, and forward to remind Christians of their future spiritual resurrection to come — a resurrection which his fate parodies.

As a millenarian signpost, however, the Wandering Jew necessarily engenders ambivalent feelings of desire and guilt/fear among Christians. While this Jewish “Other” holds out the prospect of physical resurrection, he also reminds Christians of their impending death, and the fact that they are to be judged at the Millennium when they run the risk of becoming like him — accursed and not spiritually resurrected.¹⁷ He is, therefore, like Rank’s double, a millenarian harbinger of immortality and death (73-76). In his 1971 introduction to Rank’s study, Harry Tucker Jr. explains the origins of the double and this paradoxical significance: “The primitive concept of the soul as a duality (the person and the shadow) appears in modern man in the motif of the double, assuring him, on the one hand, of immortality and on the other, threateningly announcing his death” (xvi). In his role as a Christian millenarian signpost, therefore, the Wandering Jew is a reminder of what Freud claims in “The Uncanny” is the most repressed knowledge we have — namely, that we all must die (242). Despite his own accursed eternal life, the Wandering Jew functions as a life-size memento mori, a popular element and theme in the Gothic genre.¹⁸

In his role as an agent of the uncanny¹⁹ who reveals “repressed” aspects of both Christian identity and the Christian past, the Wandering Jew engenders the disturbing revelation that the foreign “Other” is also familiar brother. In this respect he threatens the security of British national difference. Like Pinsker’s nationless Jew who represents “the uncanny form of one of the dead walking among the living” (163; emphasis added), the Wandering Jew is eerily revived in British Gothic literature to haunt his Christian creators

with reminders of their paternal religious inheritance.²⁰ This inheritance is, however, double-edged. “Rebellion against the father is never,” as Hyam Maccoby has articulately argued, “a straightforward expression of hatred” (239). Guilt is often involved in the return of the repressed knowledge of the father’s overthrow. Moreover, although the Christian son may, on one hand, regard himself as being different from and superior to his Jewish father, “the nagging possibility [exists] that the despotisms buried by the modern age may prove to be undead” (Botting 1996: xxi). In such scenarios, the sense of temporal generation is collapsed, difference is annihilated, and the son confronts the prospect that he is like his father.²¹

During such exemplary uncanny episodes, the Wandering Jewish father functions as a mirror wherein the Christian son sees himself reflected. Such moments of confrontation with one’s repressed fears and desires may be said to engender an “identity crisis.” When the Jew in the Christian is recognized and the “Other” is acknowledged to be “brother,” mixed feelings of pleasure and terror are elicited. Gothic literature thus exposes one of the most repressed secrets in realist fiction, namely that the “Other” exists within us. At such uncanny moments, the vampiric Wandering Jew is not revealed as a construct but, rather, a buried aspect of the Christian self. This awareness is intuitive, therefore, rather than intellectual. Although this recognition may be again repressed by novel’s end — as is the case in Dracula — the important point is that it does occur and the reader recognizes it.

While such uncanny moments may be said to involve the recognition that the demonic is domestic, that the Unheimlich (the unknown and the un-home-like) exists within the home/the self, it has a crucial demonic corollary that is especially popular in Gothic romances. In this alternate narrative dynamic, the domestic is revealed to be demonic, the “brother” is exposed as “Other.” This occurs, for example, in instances where the husband is revealed to be the prison-master or the rapist. In more general terms, it involves episodes where the apparently human is revealed to be not-human. In scenes involving the vampiric Wandering Jew, these moments occur when his foreign identity is

unknown and his mark of Cain is concealed. In his 1989 publication The Sublime Object of Ideology, the Slovenian Lacanian theorist, Slavoj Žizek, concisely articulates this component of the Gothic uncanny specifically in relation to anti-Semitism. Žizek compares anti-Semitism's Jew to the alien bodysnatchers in the well-known 1950's film Invasion of the Body Snatchers in order to illustrate his point. As he summarizes it, this film involved

... an invasion of creatures from outer space [who] assume human shape — they look exactly like human beings, they have all their properties, but in some sense this makes them all the more uncannily strange. This problem is the same as anti-Semitism (and for that reason Invasion of the Body Snatchers can be read as a metaphor for McCarthyite anti-Communism in the fifties): Jews are 'like us'; it is difficult to recognize them, to determine at the level of positive reality that surplus, that evasive feature, which differentiates them from all other people. (89; emphasis added)

The fear Žizek describes is essentially one of reverse colonization/imperialism where the ravenous Crypto-Jewish wolf adopts sheep's clothing in order to penetrate the security of Christian Britain.

This threat of the Crypto-Jew who appears to have converted and to be uncannily "like us" yet covertly aims to convert the British Christian to his demonic Jewish religion is an especially significant component of two of the works under study — William Godwin's St. Leon and Bram Stoker's Dracula. In the latter novel, there is also a sexual component attached to the threat. Exogamy is gothicized in Dracula as the self is swallowed up by the "Other." As Regina Schwartz relates in The Curse of Cain:

Rules of exogamy, endogamy, and incest are among the chief ways cultures have expressed their tenets of identity and difference. If the incest taboo reflects fear of losing identity in the Same, the exogamy taboo expresses fear of losing identity in the Other. (83)

In his role as nation-less “Other” who transgresses boundaries, the anti-Semite’s Wandering Jew in the form of Count Dracula threatens British endogamy. He is deemed to be guilty of incest, “the crime of nondifferentiation” (Harari 1217), which eventually threatens all cultural differences. As Josué Harari explains, “Incest is the refusal of differences, the crime of nondifferentiation, which at first results in the intermingling of kin and ultimately abolishes all cultural distinctions” (1217).

Considering the threatening scenarios of “Other” equals brother and brother equals “Other” in the light of the Wandering Jew’s role in Gothic literature, it becomes clear that maintaining that figure’s position as cultural “Other” was crucial to the maintenance of British national identity. According to orthodox Christian doctrine, the Jews also had to be preserved as religious “Other.” As Hyam Maccoby explains, “One of the strongest beliefs of medieval Christians was that the Second Coming of Christ could not take place until the Jews were converted to Christianity. (Marvell’s ‘till the conversion of the Jews’ means simply ‘till the millennium.’) The Jews, therefore, had to be preserved; otherwise the Second Coming could not take place” (239). British conversionist societies justified their activities by claiming to “aid in this divine plan, and with a kind of reverse logic their establishment was viewed as a sign of the proximity of the Second Coming” (Ragussis 5).

The issue of national assimilation, however, became increasingly bound up with the issue of religious conversion. Michael Ragussis notes how the Jews’ “[c]onversion [to Christianity] became the only path not merely to Christian salvation, but to English assimilation; Jewish identity and English national identity were mutually exclusive” (23). Ironically, while the British realist novel often issued the call to the Jews to convert to Christianity — and thus to assimilate into the British nation — the British Gothic novel often manifested the terror evoked by the prospect of such a conversion. Jews who symbolically convert to Christianity in Gothic literature are often represented as a subversive cabal-style “state within a state” that attempts to gain legal access to national power in order to accomplish its own devious “Jewish” ends. Such figures are portrayed

as eternally endowed with the mark of Cain of self interest. The traditional “positive” Wandering Jew figure of legend who converts to Christianity, thus attesting to that religion's powers, is often subverted in Gothic works as he becomes a sinister Mephistopheles-style double agent who threatens to convert Christians.

In the final analysis, the Jew who resisted Christian conversion better suited British purposes. Léon Poliakov has captured the nature of his function. Examining the logic behind a Roman apologist's proclamation at the time of the first emancipation campaign that “A ghetto of Jews is better proof of the religion of Jesus Christ than a whole school of theologians”, Poliakov queries:

Why? Would the answer not be the role they played as an indispensable reference group, enabling Christians to know themselves as Christians and to incarnate good by contrast with evil, just as so many theologians think that the very existence of evil is explained by its role in revealing good? (288)

Bringing this idea to bear on attempts to emancipate Jews during the Enlightenment, Poliakov indirectly supports my claim regarding the British fear of the Jewish threat of non-differentiation:

And did not the emancipation of the Jews, in other words, the distortion, or even the extinction of the age-old image, the divergence which arises between the symbol and the reality, did this not sow obscure terrors — if the Jew is no longer a Jew, who am I and whence cometh my salvation — did not this result in a fresh outbreak of hatred, precisely because of emancipation? (288)

As I hope to illustrate, the Gothic novel provided the ideal breeding-ground for the sowing of such obscure terrors. Linda Colley has explained how the eighteenth century was “one of the most formative periods in the making of the modern world and — not accidentally — in the forging of British identity” (7). The nationless, vampiric Wandering

Jew, with his connections to the blood libel and the sinister Cabala, played a pivotal role in the establishment of British national identity. He symbolized the violation of various taboos and all that Britons considered anathema to their national sensibility. Ironically, in Britain's joint commercially-motivated activities of promoting scientific development for the purpose of forging the Industrial Revolution, and of consolidating and expanding her empire, she was projecting, in the figure of the vampiric Wandering Jew, her own demonic self-image.

NOTES

¹ The portrait Jean-Paul Sartre provides in Anti-Semite and Jew of the Jew's metaphysical tragedy — he is a self-alienated, haunted man whose life “is nothing but a long flight from others and from himself” (135) — is similar to Pinsker's description of the nation-less Jew as a persecuted living-dead ghost.

² Curiously, Derrida does not use the term “spectropoetics” in this work. I borrow the term from the book's cover. Derrida does refer, however, to Marx's deployment of “something like a spectropolitics and a genealogy of ghosts” in The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte (107).

³ It is interesting to note, however, that despite the fact that African-Americans have generally functioned as the primary Gothic “Other” in American literature, the Jew and Jewishness are also occasionally featured. Edgar Allan Poe's “Ligeia” and “The Fall of the House of Usher,” for example, focus on “Hebrew” characters, living-death and, in the latter case, incest. As the narrator relates, “Jewishness” is inscribed on Ligeia's physiognomy: “I looked at the delicate outlines of the nose — and nowhere but in the graceful medallions of the Hebrews had I beheld a similar perfection. There were the same luxurious smoothness of surface, the same scarcely perceptible tendency to the aquiline, the same harmoniously curved nostrils speaking the free spirit” (39; emphasis added). Similarly, in “The Fall of the House of Usher,” Roderick Usher is portrayed as a type of revenant Jew. The narrator describes him as having a “cadaverousness of complexion; an eye large, liquid, and luminous beyond comparison; lips somewhat thin and very pallid, but of a surpassingly beautiful curve; a nose of a delicate Hebrew model, but with a breadth of nostril unusual in similar formations; a finely moulded chin, speaking, in its

want of prominence, of a want of moral energy; hair of a more than web-like softness and tenuity; these features with an inordinate, expansion above the regions of the temple, made up altogether a countenance not easily to be forgotten” (65-66; emphasis added).

In the conclusion to Anti-Semite and Jew, Jean-Paul Sartre also briefly speaks to the parallel roles of Jews and African-Americans when he writes: “Richard Wright, the Negro writer, said recently: ‘There is no Negro problem in the United States, there is only a White problem.’ In the same way, we must say that anti-Semitism is not a Jewish problem; it is our problem” (152). As scholars like Sander Gilman and G.L. Mosse have outlined, blackness and Jewishness have been combined often in anti-Semitic discourse. In keeping also with the longstanding Jew-as-canine motif, the Jew has been classified as black, a “mongrel” race with Negro blood.

⁴ In The Origins of Satan, Elaine Pagels also notes that “because Christians as they read the gospels have characteristically identified themselves with the disciples, for some two thousand years they have also identified their opponents, whether Jews, pagans, or heretics, with forces of evil, and so with Satan” (xxiii). Pagels illustrates how the very construction of Satan in the Gospels was grounded in anti-Semitism. “Satan,” Pagels writes, “along with diabolical colleagues like Belial and Mastema (whose Hebrew name means ‘hatred’), did not materialize out of the air. Instead, as we shall see, such figures emerged from the turmoil of first-century Palestine, the setting in which the Christian movement began to grow” (xviii).

⁵ As is outlined in the Encyclopaedia Judaica, allegations of Jews desecrating the Host began after the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 when the doctrine of Transubstantiation,

which holds that the consecrated wafer becomes “the actual body of Jesus”, was officially recognised:

After that period therefore it was widely held that in certain circumstances — for instance disbelief or desecration — the Host might show supernatural powers. At the same time, it was imagined in some Christian circles that the Jews, believing paradoxically (which they could not if they remained Jews) that the consecrated wafer was in fact the very body of Jesus, desired to renew upon it and him the agonies of the Passion, by stabbing, tormenting, or burning it. Such was the intensity of their paradoxical hatred that they would not abandon their Jewish perfidy even if the sacred wafer manifested its indignation and its miraculous essence by shedding blood, emitting voices, or even taking to flight. There is no need to regard as a wholly spiteful invention the statement that the consecrated wafer shed drops of blood, the most common manner in which the outrage became known, for a scarlet fungoid organism (called for this reason the Micrococcus prodigiosus) may sometimes form on stale food kept in a dry place, having an appearance not unlike blood. The charge of desecrating the Host was leveled against Jews all over the Roman Catholic world, frequently bringing in its train persecution and massacre. (Gaster 1040-1043)

As to other purposes to which Christian blood was apparently put, the Encyclopedia Judaica notes that

The strange medley of ideas about the use of blood by the Jews is summed up by the end of the Middle Ages, in 1494, by the citizens of Tyrnau (Trnava). The Jews need blood because “firstly, they were convinced by the judgment of their ancestors, that the blood of a Christian was a good

remedy for the alleviation of the wound of circumcision. Secondly, they were of opinion that this blood, put into food, is very efficacious for the awakening of mutual love. Thirdly, they had discovered, as men and women among them suffered equally from menstruation, that the blood of a Christian is a specific medicine for it, when drunk. Fourthly, they had an ancient but secret ordinance by which they are under obligation to shed Christian blood in honor of God, in daily sacrifices, in some spot or other ... the lot for the present year had fallen on the Tyrrau Jews." (Ben-Sasson 1123)

⁶ Joshua Trachtenberg implies that Edward I's reasons for expelling the Jews played upon popular prejudices and fears. These served to veil the primary reason behind the expulsion in 1290, which was an economic one. He outlines how "when non-Jewish commercial activity increased to such an extent that the Jew no longer counted for much in the field, his importance as a source of governmental revenue vanished. The state's investment in the protection of the Jew no longer paid and was therefore hastily withdrawn. He was mulcted of what little he still possessed and unceremoniously shown the gate. During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries a number of major expulsions took place in England and on the Continent (the first, in England, in 1290) wholly for reasons affecting the royal exchequer" (189).

⁷ Jewish circumcision involves the ritual of metsitsah, the sucking of the infant's penis by the mohel in order to staunch the bleeding. Sander Gilman has argued that this practise was considered to be a possible route of syphilis transmission in the late nineteenth century

(1991: 93). As I discuss in Chapter Four, Jews were popularly regarded as syphilis carriers.

⁸ There would appear to be some dispute over the frequency and duration of the Jewish male's menstrual cycle. While Lawrence Osborne cites Franco de Piacenza, a Jewish convert to Christianity, as saying that this phenomenon occurred "a mere four times a year!" (129), Sander Gilman cites the same source as saying four days a year (1986: 74).

⁹ W.D. Rubinstein has explained that the "presence of the Jewish community in medieval England had one purpose only, to permit them to act as money-lenders to the king and as ... 'treasury agents', advancing large sums of money to the Crown to defray its expenses" (36-37). It has been estimated "that at the end of the twelfth century Jews, who constituted no more than 1 per cent of the English population (and probably less), owned up to one-third of the mobile wealth of England — an incredible sum" (37).

¹⁰ The act of dentition is graphically described in Sir Walter Scott's *Ivanhoe* (1817): "The kings of the Norman race, and the independent nobles, who followed their example in all acts of tyranny, maintained against this devoted people a persecution of a more regular, calculated, and self-interested kind. It is a well-known story of King John, that he confined a wealthy Jew in one of the royal castles, and daily caused one of his teeth to be torn out, until, when the jaw of the unhappy Israelite was half disfurnished, he consented to pay a large sum, which it was the tyrant's object to extort from him. The little ready money which was in the country was chiefly in possession of this persecuted people, and the nobility hesitated not to follow the example of their sovereign, in wringing it from them by every species of oppression, and even personal torture" (69).

A reference is also made to a painting called the “Dentition of the Jew” in Maria Edgeworth’s Harrington (1819). This piece is purchased and then burned by a rich, benevolent Jew named Mr. Montenero who fled the Inquisition after losing everything in a fire in Gibraltar. This act is described by the narrator as an “auto da fê” (133), and Montenero regards it as a symbolic purgation ritual signifying his destruction of “... every record of cruelty and intolerance ... [and] all that can keep alive feelings of hatred and vengeance between Jews and Christians!” (133).

¹¹ This image of the Jew as a canine/lupine usurer is maintained in much nineteenth-century literature. In Scott’s Ivanhoe, for example, the money-lender Isaac is described, among other things, as the “whelp of a she-wolf” and the “dog of an unbeliever” (79). It is also more loosely established in Dickens’ novel Oliver Twist which borrows much from the genre of Gothic literature. The notorious thief Fagin who corrupts and preys upon young British boys is described by Bill Sykes as a type of undead figure, an “ugly ghost just rose from the grave” (187). A truly Gothic character, the avaricious Fagin is also depicted as “a blackhearted wolf” (400) who possesses “withered old claw[s]” for hands (398) and “fangs as should have been a dog’s or rat’s” (417).

¹² Adalbert von Chamisso’s protagonist Peter Shlemihl (the Yiddish word “Schlemihl” means an unlucky, ridiculous person) is an unemployed Jewish man who first sells his shadow and later his soul to the devil in exchange for Fortunatus’s purse which produces endless gold ducats. The blood libel motif is retained here as Schlemihl signs over his soul in blood. The Wandering Jew motif is even incorporated as he ends up wandering through the world with seven-league boots at the story’s end. Leopold von Loewenstein-Wertheim notes in his brief introduction to Peter Schlemihl that von Chamisso could empathize with

this wanderer. In a letter to Madame de Stäel, von Chamisso once wrote, "I am nowhere at home. I am a Frenchman in Germany and a German in France. A Catholic among Protestants, a Protestant among Catholics, a Jacobin among aristocrats, an aristocrat among democrats" (11).

¹³ Adolf Hitler rearticulates the equations between the Jew and Satan and the Jew and Mephistopheles in his notorious 1925 work Mein Kampf. Comparing the Jew to Satan, Hitler writes, "His utterly low-down conduct is so appalling that one really cannot be surprised if in the imagination of our people the Jew is pictured as the incarnation of Satan and the symbol of evil" (184). After describing the Jew as lacking "the creative abilities ... necessary to the founding of civilization", Hitler claims that "the Jewish intellect will never be constructive but always destructive. At best it may serve as a stimulus in rare cases but only within the meaning of the poet's lines: 'The Power which always wills the Bad, and always works the Good'" (171). As Hitler explains in a footnote, the poet is Goethe and the work is Faust: "When Mephistopheles first appears to Faust ... Faust inquires: 'What is thy name?' To which Mephistopheles replies: 'A part of the Power which always wills the Bad and always works the Good.' And when Faust asks him what is meant by this riddle and why he should call himself 'a part,' the gist of Mephistopheles' reply is that he is the Spirit of Negation and exists through opposition to the positive Truth and Order and Beauty which proceed from the never-ending creative energy of the Deity. In the Prologue to Faust the Lord declares that man's active nature would grow sluggish in working the good and that therefore he has to be aroused by the Spirit of Opposition. This Spirit wills the Bad, but of itself it can do nothing positive, and by its opposition always works the opposite of what it wills" (172).

¹⁴ Although Shell examines Goethe's Faust (1808), Christopher Marlowe's The Tragical History of Doctor Faustus (1588) includes the same stipulation (I.v.53-58).

¹⁵ Railo isolates Lewis's The Monk, Godwin's St. Leon, and Maturin's Melmoth the Wanderer as novels that fall into the category of the "Faust-group." In his comprehensive study The Legend of the Wandering Jew, George Anderson outlines the "unattractive" combination of the Wandering Jew and Faust in Melmoth the Wanderer (189-190), and Phyllis Roth is the first critic to claim that the character of Dracula represents a combination of the Wandering Jew and Faust (96). She explains how in Dracula the Count is a descendant of the Wandering Jew: "... like the Wandering Jew, Dracula cannot die and 'speaks of nations long extinct as though personally acquainted with them.' Like his biblical prototype, his immortality is, in one sense, a punishment and a torment. However, like Faust, Dracula not only could not die, he would not die. Thus, the fusion of the Faust myth with the legend of the Wandering Jew 'give[s] rise to the legend of the exchange of eternal bliss for everlasting life and happiness on earth'" (96-97). Anderson may argue that these "two legends should be kept separate" (42) but various authors have taken poetic license and united them.

¹⁶ In his highly theoretical study, Representing the Holocaust: History, Theory, Trauma, Dominick LaCapra notes the predominant reservations surrounding the theory that the Jews functioned as ritual scapegoats in Nazi Germany. Despite these difficulties, LaCapra upholds this theory's applicability: "The scapegoating component has often tended to be denied for a variety of reasons, for example, a restricted idea of the banality of evil, a reliance on a conception of modernity in terms of bureaucratic rationality or a technological frame of reference, and a general desire to avoid any view that might seem, however

remotely or unintentionally, to legitimate events or jeopardize secular rationality. But certain features of the Nazi treatment of Jews, pollution from the community, make the role of scapegoating difficult to deny" (189).

¹⁷ As Michael Wheeler explains, there is an ongoing theological debate over the exact meaning of resurrection. The Pharisees "believed in the resurrection of the body, and the Sadducees ... denied it. The concept of the resurrection of the body was an apocalyptic hope current in traditional Palestinian Judaism at the time of Christ, and often came into conflict with that of the immortality of the soul and a future life immediately after death, in Hellenistic Judaism. Although the matter is still contested, most theologians today consider resurrection to be the basis of sound doctrine, as the whole person is thereby raised to new life, and no final separation between the body and the soul is implied" (7).

¹⁸ As Gothic literature features confrontations with the sublime and its message about the inescapability of mortality, memento mori could be said to be its principal motto. Emblems of this motto appear in most Gothic works. Perhaps the most famous memento mori is found in Ann Radcliffe's The Mysteries of Udolpho. It is the secret hidden beneath the black veil, "a waxen image, made to resemble a human body in the state, to which it is reduced after death" (662) that an early Marquis of Udolpho contemplated as religious penance.

¹⁹ In that it ambivalently signifies both what is familiar (of the home) and what is concealed and foreign (not of the home), the uncanny applies to Pinsker's portrait of the Jewish nation as "a people which is at home everywhere and nowhere" (171).

²⁰ This effect is outlined by Julia Kristeva who argues that the “phantasmatic” figure known as the anti-Semite’s Jew (180) “haunts” his creator (1).

²¹ Such a scenario is essentially played out in Horace Walpole’s Ur-Gothic tale The Castle of Otranto (1764). Its primary moral dictates that “the sins of fathers are visited on their children to the third and fourth generation” (5). As his grandfather’s sin of murder testifies, wickedness is Manfred’s inheritance. The novel commences with the extraordinary death of Manfred’s son Conrad, and Manfred is also revealed to be a guilty sinner.

In keeping with the traditional transgressive ability of the signifier “Jew,” this figure does not solely represent the past. As Horkheimer and Adorno correctly note in The Dialectic of Enlightenment, the Jews were also often associated with modernity and scientific/technological advancement. They were deemed the “colonizers for progress” (175). The association between the Jew and magical science examined in Chapter Two perhaps best captures his role as a liminal figure who bridges the religious past (magic) and the technological future (science).

Chapter Two

I. Phantasmagoria and the French Revolution:

Bogeys and “Boney”

All the misfortune of the modern world, if it is traced to its furthest roots, comes manifestly from the Jews, they alone made Bonaparte emperor. (Poliakov 297)

According to the Marquis de Sade the genre of Gothic literature was “the inevitable outcome of the revolutionary upheavals experienced throughout the whole of Europe” (109). While several Gothic novels in England pre-dated these upheavals, it is unarguable that two particular forms of terror in the 1790s — one historical, the other fictional — tapped into the stuff of which British nightmares were made, thus providing this genre with an unprecedented blood transfusion. News of the notorious “Kannibalregiment” Terror in France involving the September massacres (Brinton 177) and the cannibalistic buveurs du sang (Singer 163), combined with the popularly welcomed entry of the German terror-novel (Schauerroman), set the stage for a revitalized brand of British Gothic literature. Plagued by “domestic unrest [and] fears of invasion from abroad” (Punter 61), Britain was particularly susceptible to this onslaught of terror. As E.P. Thompson relates, “In 1797 the invasion scare was growing, armed loyal associations and volunteer corps were formed, as much against internal conspiracy as against the French”. In fact, British invasion fears gained ground in February of that year when “the French actually made a small landing near Fishguard, on the Pembrokeshire coast” (Thompson 180).¹

In response to these threats of conspiracy and invasion, British readers found an escape route in the titillating domain of Gothic literature, choosing to undertake what J.M.S. Tompkins fancifully describes as “an exhaustive tour of the vaults”. Such a tour was, according to Tompkins, “a natural reaction from a long period of sobriety in literature combined with revolutionary excitement and the growth of the reading habit in the lower middle classes” (221). While some critics have therefore dismissed the Gothic as merely

escapist, recent critics such as David Punter have suggested that Gothic literature's rejection of "direct engagement with the activities of contemporary life in favour of geographically and historically remote actions and settings" (61) was a displacement of pressing contemporary concerns. These ranged from growing urbanization and the genesis of industrial capitalism, to the persistence of English Jacobinism and the inception and maturity of working-class consciousness (Thompson 199). Nina Auerbach's concluding comments in the introduction to Our Vampires, Ourselves, her recent examination of cinematic and literary vampires in the twentieth century, advances a similar point about the apparent escapism of the vampire phenomenon: "They [vampires] promise escape from our dull lives and the pressure of our times, but they matter because when properly understood, they make us see that our lives are implicated in theirs and our times are inescapable" (9).

The political nature of Gothic literature and its exact relationship to its socio-historic context has prompted a tremendous amount of debate.² In his essay on the sociology of the modern monster, Marxist critic Franco Moretti argues that "the literature of terror is born precisely out of the terror of a split society, and out of the desire to heal it" (83). Michel Foucault advances a similar, partially etymologically-based theory in his seminal study Madness and Civilization. He argues that socially-defined monsters play a crucial monitory role as they warn their society about potential unethical acts and disorder (69-70). Extrapolating on the idea that literary monsters are "most evident in periods of social, political and economic crises," Fred Botting delineates Gothic literature's role in providing a necessary combination of social catharsis and guidance: "Derived from the Latin 'monere,' to warn, and 'demonstrare,' to show or make visible, monsters stage the opposite of the audience's position and vindicate that position by making the vice and folly of the monster visible, so warning potential imitators against such monstrous actions" (142).

The bogey of the secret society persistently rears its treacherous head as the putative instigator of class division and tyranny in British society and Gothic literature of the 1790s, a period of growing class consciousness and antagonism. Many considered these organizations to be the control centres of internal conspiracy. As Marie Roberts explains, "In the wake of the French Revolution, the secret societies were the dark spectres haunting the mass-movements of Europe. Gothic novelists had seized upon them as metaphors of terror" (1990: 59). Considering "the Terror of the French Revolution ... [to be] the most cogent example of how the 'Enlightenment behaves toward things as a dictator toward men'", Gothic novelists deployed the secret society as "a paradigm for the dialectical reversal of the Enlightenment movement which had transmogrified into its own opposite" (Roberts 1990: 61). These novelists considered the secret society to be an irrational institution that preached democracy while covertly practising authoritarian tyranny. They effectively rendered the theme of Francisco de Goya's famous and timely 1790s etching El Sueño de la Razon Produce Monstruos (The Sleep of Reason Produces Monsters) into literary format.

As the Two "Gagging" Acts of 1795 outlawing seditious meetings and treasonable practices, and the 1799 Act banning secret and seditious societies attest, however, the British government felt the threat of secret societies to be more than merely apparitional. It is noteworthy that these Acts framed the publication of two significant books linking secret societies to European political troubles in general, and to the French Revolution in particular. The year 1797 saw the appearance of both John Robison's Proofs of a Conspiracy against all the Religions and Governments of Europe, carried on in the Secret Meetings of Free Masons, Illuminati and Reading Societies and Abbé Augustin Barruel's five-volume work entitled Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire du Jacobinisme. Robison, Professor of Natural Philosophy at Edinburgh University, produced proofs of a revolutionary conspiracy among secret societies fostered under the pretext of "enlightening the world by the touch of philosophy and of dispelling the clouds of civil and religious

superstition which keep the nations of Europe in darkness and slavery" (11). The laws of British Freemasonry stipulated that "nothing touching religion or government shall ever be spoken of in the Lodge" (10) but, according to Robison, Freemasonry became corrupted after it was exported to France. There, it was infected by "every strange and obnoxious doctrine" ranging from "Theurgy"³ and "Cosmogony" to the Cabala (38). Although Robison concludes by relating how "the good sense and sound judgements of Britons have preserved them from the absurd follies of Transmutation, of Ghost-raising, and of Magic, so that their honest hearts and their innate good dispositions have made them detest and reject the mad projects and impious doctrines of Cosmopolites, Epicurists, and Atheists" (538), he relays the sense that the "contagion" of Freemasonry (495) remained an ever-present danger. Apart from Robison's blatant anti-French critique, the Jesuits come under special fire. Robison argues that they successfully infiltrated the Masons in the eighteenth century in attempts to reestablish the dominion of the Roman Catholic Church in England (22), and aided in the Stuarts' attempts to reinstate the Pretender as King (27, 38).

Ironically, it was a Jesuit, Abbé Augustin Barruel, "a major contributor to the McCarthyism (sic) of the 1790s" (Roberts 1986: 89), who offered a similar "exposé of alleged Masonic, Rosicrucian and Illuminist activities" in France. Tracing "the origins of the French Revolution from the Illuminati in Ingoldstadt to the Freemasons, philosophers and Jacobins, and then to the mobs on the street", the Mémoires portrayed secret societies "as precipitators of the French Revolution based on an anti-monarchical and anti-ecclesiastical conspiracy" (Roberts 1990: 60). Barruel vilified the Illuminati as a "subversive organization committed to the 'annihilation of every Empire, of all order, rank, distinction, property, and social tie'" (Roberts 60-61). With the purported aim of achieving equality and liberty for all, this secret society "stimulated all nations to rebellion, and aimed at plunging them ultimately into the horrors of anarchy" (Barruel ix; emphasis added). Although proffering what has been deemed "superficially intricate, but really over-

simplified, explanations of a vast political change” (Tompkins 284), Barruel's alarmist document managed nonetheless to find English adherents (Tompkins 283).

With the exception of Léon Poliakov's comprehensive study of The History of Anti-Semitism, the significant role played by Judaism in these popular conspiracy theories has gone unrecorded in historical accounts. Although not explicitly expressed in France until 1806, the year Napoleon created the central Jewish tribunal of the Great Sanhedrin, the conspiracy theory linking Jews to the French Revolution was an offshoot of popular medieval theories about Jewish conspiracies, and was first clearly articulated and disseminated by the Abbé Barruel. It should be underlined that what he referred to as “his ultimate revelation” did not upset any of his earlier claims; rather, it was perfectly aligned with them. While Barruel did not specifically mention the Jews in his Mémoires, he did foreground the specifically anti-Christian nature of the Jacobinical “sect” that, in combination with “the Occult Masons”, threatened “God, the King, and Society” (xxiii).⁴ Notably, when the Mémoires were first translated into English in 1798, the word Jacobinism was entirely excised from the title. In its place, anti-Christianity became the focus. According to its alarmist, patriotic translator who undertook the work in order to “serve his country” (v), Memoirs Illustrating the Antichristian Conspiracy delineated “The Antichristian Conspiracy, or that of the Sophisters of Impiety against the God of Christianity, and against every religion and every altar, whether Protestant or Catholic, Lutheran or Calvinist, provided it be but Christian” (iv).

The long-standing holder of the title of anti-Christian religion par excellence, Judaism was the perfect choice for a vital role in conspiracy theories about the French Revolution. In 1806, Barruel revealed his shocking discovery that Crypto-Jews — Jews posturing as New Christians — posed the primary threat to the social order. An Italian army officer had apparently apprised Barruel of this information about the Jewish designs for world rule (Katz 1970: 220). Although Barruel refrained from making his ultimate revelation public in order to avoid a general massacre of the Jews, he informed influential

members of government circles, the police, and Church officials (Poliakov 282-3). As Poliakov cogently argues, it is possible that Barruel's theory was "the primary source of the Protocols of the Elders of Zion" which was originally published in Russia in the revolutionary year 1905. This work, the most notorious anti-Semitic forgery, claims to be the minutes of a conference attended by the senior leaders of world Jewry (Larsson 9). It outlines how Jews purposely spread diseases and instigate social disorder in the form of revolutions and wars in order to gain political control (9). It also maintains that Antichrist will appear in a revolutionary crisis (Hill 179), and portrays Jews and Freemasons as co-conspirators for world domination (Poliakov 283). Actually written by Sergei Nilus, a Russian Orthodox Christian who believed that the arrival of the Antichrist and the Apocalypse were imminent, the Protocols originally appeared as "an appendix in a larger book from 1901, the title of which clearly reveals its purpose and content: The Great in the Little: Antichrist Considered as an Imminent Political Possibility" (Larsson 15).

Like the Protocols of the Elders of Zion, Barruel's sensational hypothesis from the early nineteenth century reads like Gothic fiction and incorporates traditional millenarian ideas. Jews were blamed for founding several secret societies and charged with attempting to infiltrate the Catholic Church

... with the result that, in Italy alone, over eight hundred ecclesiastics, including a few bishops and cardinals, were actually working on their behalf. As for the conspirators' final goal, it was nothing less than to be the masters of the world, to abolish all other sects in order to make their own reign supreme, to make as many synagogues as there were Christian churches, and to reduce the remaining Christians to slavery. (Poliakov 283)

Circulation of this conspiracy theory on the heels of the formation of the Great Sanhedrin was extremely significant. As this tribunal reminded Christians of the crucifixion — the Sanhedrin made the conspiratorial deal with Judas for thirty pieces of silver (Poliakov 229) — it was popularly thought to be a conspiracy against the Catholic Church in France

(Cohn-Sherbok 150). A number of medieval anti-Semitic legends were also revived along with Barruel's theory (214). Foremost among them was the legend of the Wandering Jew which combined the subject of deicide with the issues of Jewish conversion and the Millenium.

According to Bernard McGinn in his fascinating 1994 study Anti-Christ: Two Thousand Years of the Human Fascination with Evil, "The French Revolution sparked one of the most important outpourings of political apocalypticism in modern times" (242). A combination of events fed into established Christian eschatology. Millenarian ideas triggered by this cataclysmic event were further ignited by Bonaparte's establishment of the Great Sanhedrin (277-278). Thereafter, when Napoleon invaded Palestine in 1799 and called upon Jews to return there (Ragussis 4), extreme, alarmist Catholic Cardinals informed him that "once a Jewish state was established, the end of the world would occur" (Poliakov 229-230). Despite the facts that the primary agenda of the Sanhedrin was an assimilationist one designed to convert Jews into patriotic and productive Frenchmen, and that Napoleon did eventually dissolve this body composed of forty-six rabbis and twenty-five laymen in 1808, fervent millenarians increasingly associated Napoleon with the Anti-Christ.⁵ Contemporary Russian newspapers, for example, gave a great deal of space to the idea of Napoleon as the Anti-Christ and the Jews' Messiah (Poliakov 279).

Nowhere did this millenarian fervor take greater hold than in England, the "traditional home of apocalyptic exegesis and sworn enemy of the Ogre [Napoleon]". Further, England was the main center of propaganda for French émigrés who were dedicated to acting as socio-political agitators from across the Channel (Poliakov 281). L'Ambigu, their principal organ, devoted a dozen articles to the Great Sanhedrin from 1806-7, and in the issue dated October 20, 1806, suggested that Napoleon was the Jews' Messiah. A month later L'Ambigu reported that Napoleon "was himself a Jew". As Poliakov relates, this latter theory explaining Napoleon's Jewish background "must have been propagated at the time of the Egyptian campaign, since in May of 1799, a friend wrote

to [German mystic and writer] Jung-Stilling ... that the 'man of sin' was born of adulterous intercourse between an oriental princess and an 'important' Jew" (282).

As these events make clear, a demonic semiotic chain was forged in England linking the concepts of France, Revolution, Illuminism, Freemasonry, and Judaism. This resulted, in part, from the interpretation of contemporary events in France in the light of established Christian eschatology. Drawing upon the vital and popular millenarian idea that the Second Coming was to be preceded by the restoration of the Jews to Palestine and their conversion to Christianity (Ragussis 4), or their reunion with the Anti-Christ (Gow 9), 1790s tracts produced by highly imaginative millenarian Dissenters consistently twinned the concepts of Revelation and Revolution (Oliver 42). Perhaps the most memorable and popularly discussed Christian millenarian of the period was the Newfoundland-born, pseudo-Messiah named Richard Brothers. In 1794 he identified England with the Ten Lost Tribes (Roth 1940: 245)⁶, and styled himself "Nephew of the Almighty," the long-awaited descendant of David who would lead both the real Jews and those concealed among the population of great Britain to Jerusalem (Garrett 183). As Frank Felsenstein notes, Brothers further reconfirmed the prevalent anti-Semitic equation in Britain between Judaism and demonic France. Brothers "publicly called upon the English to lay down their arms before the French, the agents of God's wrath against hereditary monarchy, and for King George III to resign his throne to him" (96). In 1795, Brothers was arrested on a charge of treason and ordered to be locked away in an Islington asylum.

For those who considered the French Revolution to be a repetition of the bloody English Civil War, popular millenarian tracts had significant historic reverberations. Another mentally unstable preacher, John Tanny, changed his name to Jacob Israel in 1650 and declared it his purpose to bring the Jews into Judea (Matar 1985: 32).⁷ The anti-monarchical and millenarian Fifth Monarchy Men who supported the Rump Parliament that condemned Charles I to death in January of 1649 also regarded Revolution as an essential stage in fulfillment of Biblical millennial prophecy. One of the most radical groups of the

English Civil War period, they initially supported Oliver Cromwell for they believed that “victory over the king had marked the beginning of the Fifth Monarchy predicted in Daniel 2, during which time Christ would return to rule on earth together with the saints” (McGinn 224).

The Jews had been, therefore, a significant component of British millenarian discourse during the Civil War period. N.I. Matar, a specialist on the restoration of the Jews in English Protestant thought, relates how they had functioned as “an instrument in English theological aspirations” (1985: 119). Representing themselves as the new chosen nation, English people argued that their history was inextricably bound up with that of the Jews whom they would lead to Christ:

... since the Jews' conversion was associated with the second coming, then the English, in controlling the Jews' conversion, were in control of global history. By their kindness to the Jews, they would bring to realization Christ's English-sponsored second coming. (Matar 1985: 33)

Fervent Christians advocated the readmission of the Jews to England in order to hasten the millenium (Rubin 6) and, more importantly, to consolidate England's role as the messianic kingdom (Matar 1985: 119). Support for the Jewish restoration to Palestine was also strong during this period but, as Matar emphasizes, “... only after the English had imposed the prospect of conversion to Christianity upon the Jews did they respond to Jews positively; they called for Jewish settlement in England or Restoration to Palestine only insofar as that served the Protestant ideals of Christian England” (118). It was believed that the latter event would grant England both a theological victory over Catholicism which had persecuted the Jews, and a military victory over the “infidel” Turks whose Ottoman Empire was engaged in expanding its power (124-5).

Although Cromwell presented a petition at the Whitehall conference on December 4, 1655, to officially readmit “the Jews into England ... [and make] a number of other important [religious and mercantile] concessions” (Rubin 7), he had lost the support of the

Fifth Monarchists after he dismissed the Rump Parliament in 1653. Realizing that Cromwell's "foreign policy was aimed at commercial profit, not at the destruction of Babylon" (Hill 121), the Fifth Monarchists concluded that the readmission of the Jews was also commercially motivated. As Abba Rubin notes, Cromwell recognized Jewish commercial services to England (6). Cromwell was a supporter of Jewish readmission, therefore, for predominantly financial reasons. Realizing that Cromwell was not furthering the advance of the millennium, the Fifth Monarchists determined that he was the Antichrist, and they rose up against him in 1657 in an unsuccessful rebellion (McGinn 224).⁸

With the merchants vehemently opposed to Jewish admission on both moral and financial grounds (Rubin 7), the Whitehall conference was, unfortunately, a dress rehearsal for reaction to British legislation promoting Jewish rights during the eighteenth century. Concluding with the official position of the Jews unchanged, the Whitehall conference actually served, as Abba Rubin notes, to instill or reinforce anti-Semitic prejudice in England (7). In fact, texts such as Alexander Ross's 1656 work A View of the Jewish Religion which maintains that Judaism is an unholy, impure, and accursed religion, followed on the heels of this conference. In keeping with the popular Christian view that Judaism was an ancient and false religion that was outdated and had been justifiably overthrown, its author wrote:

... there is nothing to be found in their [the Jews'] pretended Worship of God, but meer hypocrisie and untruth; in the most wise and prudent of their learned Rabbins and Scribes, nothing but ignorance and extraordinary stupidity, especially in the knowledge of God and exposition of his word: Lastly, through the whole Nation [there is] nothing [to be found] but strange and fearfull obstinacy and pertinaciousnesse in all depraved course and wayes of living. (1-2)

It must be noted that Ross's anti-Semitic views were upheld by others prior to the Whitehall conference. For example, in a sermon entitled The Devilish Conspiracy ... by

the Jewes, against the Anointed of the Lord, Christ their King (1649) which was presented on 4 February 1649, John Warner accused the Jews of executing King Charles (Matar 1985: 31). The association forged between Republicans and Jews in such works as Warner's was typical of the seventeenth century when the "study of Hebrew, Cabala, and rabbinical sources was on the rise ... [and] English Protestant sects were emulating Jewish Sabbath observance and dietary laws" (14). In his Voyage into the Levant, Henry Blount compared Jews to radical English Puritans saying that Jews have "light, aerial, and fanatical brains, spirited much like our hot apocalypse men" (Shapiro 1996: 35). The accusation of Judaization became a popular insult.⁹ James Shapiro notes "how convenient it became to label opponents, especially those who favored republicanism, as Judaizers" during this period (21).

As the events surrounding Cromwell and the Fifth Monarchy Men illustrate, British millenarian tracts were comprised of certain consistent elements. Moreover, in their prevalent Republican-Jewish connection, such tracts anticipate the Abbé Barruel's "revelation" of 1806 and even mirror Gothic literature of the 1790s which frequently treated the theme of eschatology. As Rhonda Johnson Ray argues, "The collapse of political, social, and religious foundations during the Romantic period generated a crisis literature exploring eschatological and apocalyptic themes" (DAI 2068-A). That such millenarian concerns and ideas should have found their way into Gothic literature in the 1790s seems almost inevitable given the political and intellectual climate.

The fact that the Abbé Barruel could articulate the make-up of such a complex Gothic spectre in early nineteenth-century France attests to his awareness of ideas that were becoming popular in Europe. Barruel's conspiracy theory linking the Jews to the French Revolution also became popular cultural currency subsequent to that event. In his 1835 Parisian publication Conspiration universelle du judaïsme, for example, the Catholic apologist Renault Bécourt claimed that Jews were responsible for the French Revolution and singlemindedly intent on world domination (Hallman 446). The notorious French anti-

Semite Edouard Drumont also asserted in 1886 that the only group that benefited from the French Revolution were the Jews (Cohn-Sherbok 169).

Barruel's was no small contribution to the later European bestseller, The Protocols of the Elders of Zion, and he certainly helped to foster an entire sub-genre of Gothic literature featuring conspiracies and cabals. Barruel's complex and arcane Jewish bogey assumed more flesh and blood in European socio-political thought of the late nineteenth century. Barruel's power-hungry Jewish monster especially rears its head in the popular anti-Semitic writings of the Chevalier Gougenot des Mousseaux, Dr. Ehrmann, Edouard Drumont, and Alban Stolz. Indeed, claims by Stolz and Dr. Ehrmann that Jews were behind all revolutions worldwide and that they infiltrated the Masons in order to achieve world domination, render the anti-Semitic spectropoetics subtending Gothic literature more explicit. Des Mousseaux's statements in his 1880 tract Le Juif, le judaïsme et la judäisation des peuples chrétiens which received the blessing of Pius IX, that Jews "continually conspire against Christians and encourage revolution" in consonance with the Talmud, a "savage code, which combines the precepts of hatred and plunder with the doctrine of cabbalistic magic, which professes high idolatry" (Cohn-Sherbok 168), also sheds light on another vital component of British Gothic literature — the Cabala. It is to an assessment of the misrepresentation of that esoteric tradition within the Gothic genre that I now turn.

II. Cabals/Cabala:

Secret Race/Secret Tradition/Secret Society/Secret Science

When Luther excoriated Jewish superstition and magic, his real target was this newfangled Kabbalah. When a host of works on magic appeared boasting Jewish inspiration, it was this they really meant. When the attack on Jews as sorcerers increased in intensity and the Pope gave it official expression, the Christian version of Kabbalah was the cause.... Paracelsus went about elaborating a scheme to create a homunculus by alchemical means with supreme assurance of its ultimate success — for had he not learned the secret from the Kabbalah? — and Schudt could proclaim confidently: “The present-day Polish Jews are notorious masters of this art, and often make the golem (a homunculus), which they employ in their homes, like kobolds or house spirits, for all sorts of housework.” (Trachtenberg 80)

Over the course of several centuries, the Jews in Britain were affected by an intricate series of anti-Semitic stereotypes that were eventually incorporated, to varying degrees and in varying forms, into British Gothic literature. Bastardized ideas about the Cabala in the Renaissance were integrated with medieval tales of blood libel and post-Reformation millenarian narratives about the restoration of the Jews to Palestine. Before examining the representations of the Cabala in works by Christian authors and the ends to which such depictions were put, it is important to explain briefly what the Cabala actually was. A theosophical tradition that emerged during the era that saw the birth of Christianity, Cabala signifies “something handed down by tradition” (Scholem 1971: 490) or the “secret tradition” (493). This multifaceted system essentially engages with “the mysteries of the hidden life of God and the relationships between the divine life on the one hand and the life of man and creation on the other” (490). There are two principal branches of the Cabala: the speculative or theoretical Cabala which involves mystical speculation, and the practical Cabala which involves an engagement with magical lore. It was the latter branch of this esoteric teaching that Christian Europe adapted for its own ends during the Renaissance. In the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, Pico della Mirandola and Johann Reuchlin were

the first to popularize the Cabala in Christian circles where they basically assimilated it to illustrate how it actually pointed in a Christian direction (643). According to Pico, “no science can better convince us of the divinity of Jesus Christ than magic and the Kabbalah” (644).

Pico's attempts to represent the Cabala as pro-Christian in its essence were definitively rejected by Martin Luther. To the latter, the Cabala became “the sign of a demonic language of enchantment” (Hsia 135). The actual “relationship of the Kabbalah to other ‘occult sciences’ such as astrology, alchemy, physiognomy, and chiromancy was slight” (Scholem 1971: 636)¹⁰, but it was this minor aspect of the practical Cabala that Luther foregrounded as the mainstay of this “secret tradition.” An inadequate knowledge of the Cabala led to its misrepresentation as a type of superstitious system grounded in magical science. Christians found it easier and more desirable to assimilate the Cabala in a theosophical dress. Thus, it became a prized adjunct of alchemy and astrology, and synonymous with magic (Trachtenberg 79). This profanation by Christians of yet another Jewish practise was in Christian interests as it further established Judaism as an anti-Christian heresy. Raphael Patai also notes that the “widely held belief that Jews were experts in alchemy was grist for the mills of anti-Semitic authors” until, at least, the nineteenth century (12). As alchemy and other forms of secret sciences lost status as legitimate and laudable practises, their association with Judaism was more strongly forged.

As a result of this misrepresentation, the Cabala fell into disrepute among rationalists. In fact, it is their conception of this esoteric teaching that is generally represented in Gothic literature, a genre that frequently features a cabalistic backdrop of secret societies or heretical cabals that practise magical science and threaten social, political, and religious order. On the basis of an examination of eighteenth-century German and British Gothic literature, one may conclude that the word “Cabala” had become synonymous, by that time, with the word “Occult”.¹¹ This equation was present, however, since the seventeenth century when both the words “Cabala” and “cabal” entered

the English language. Both had negative connotations, and it is significant that their genesis was concurrent with the official re-entry of the Jews into Britain. Deeming the words “cabal” and “Cabala” to be interchangeable at that time, the OED defines “cabal” jointly as the “Jewish tradition as to the interpretation of the Old Testament” and “a secret or private intrigue of a sinister character formed by a small body of persons” (I. 311).¹²

The OED's definition of “cabal” as a sinister form of intrigue is upheld in James Harrington's 1659 treatise The Art of Lawgiving. More significant, however, is the fact that this work associates such sinister intrigues with the Jews. Its second section is entitled “The Second Book Containing the COMMONWEALTHS of the Hebrews, Namely ELOHIM, or the Commonwealth of Israel; and CABALA, or the Commonwealth of the Jews.” Therein, Harrington targets the Biblical Sanhedrin when he criticizes the “cabalistical or Jewish commonwealth” which was “an oligarchy, consisting of a senat and a presbytery, which not only scourg'd the apostles, but caus'd Christ to be crucify'd” (398). In an earlier work, The Commonwealth of Oceana (1656), Harrington also discusses the Jews. He describes a utopian commonwealth called Oceana (England) located near a neighbouring island called Panopea (Ireland), and suggests that since Panopea is populated by “a slothful and pusillanimous people” (33), Jews should be “planted” there in their stead.¹³ As Oceana would then demand “two millions annual revenue”, Harrington argues that this transplantation scheme would be the best thing for the commonwealth's purse (33). Moreover, this would provide a requisite solution to the “problem” of having “parasitic,” unassimilable Jews living in Oceana itself. According to Harrington, “To receive the Jews after any other manner into a commonwealth, were to maim it: for they of all nations never incorporat, but taking up the room of a limb, are of no use or office to the body, while they suck the nourishment which would sustain a natural and useful member” (33; emphasis added).¹⁴

Francis Bacon's earlier rendition of an ideal commonwealth in his 1629 publication, New Atlantis, was also preoccupied with the role of the Jews. Further, Bacon even

mentions the word “cabala” in relation to the Jews. Indeed, Jewish and Masonic echoes are rife throughout this treatise which was, intriguingly, later plagiarized by “the quack John Heydon” as “A Voyage to the Rosicrucians” (Ormsby-Lennon 54). On an island called Bensalem (a name which sounds like Jerusalem), Bacon's observer encounters a world that seems to be regulated according to theosophical principles. In a central site on Bensalem known as Saloman's House¹⁵, a noble foundation “dedicated to the study of the works and creatures of God” (118), science is regarded as the prime civilizer that will lead man to the love of God. Bacon's observer encounters a “circumcised” Jew (124) on the island who recounts how Moses ordained the laws of the utopian land of Bensalem by way of a “secret cabala” (124). Deeming both this idea and that about the forthcoming Messiah to be “Jewish dreams”, the observer notes that Bensalem is predominantly inhabited by Christians, but also by “some few stirps of Jews” who are of a different breed than Jews “in other parts ... [for] they give unto our Saviour [Jesus Christ] many high attributes, and love the nation of Bensalem extremely” (124). Bacon insinuates that Jews are generally unlike these fervently nationalistic Bensalem Jews who respect Christianity. He, therefore, anticipates Harrington's view that the Jews tend not to assimilate into the nations they inhabit. In Bacon's Utopia, however, Jews are appropriated for Christian ends — they lend support to Christianity.

As these examples illustrate, the terms “cabal” and “Cabala” were virtually synonymous, since their entry into the English language, with the Jews and sinister secrecy. The association between the Jewish Cabala and secrecy is particularly apt given the Cabala's role as the “secret tradition.” The popular view of its Jewish creators as “the secret race” whose primary sign of difference, circumcision, was considered to be deceptively hidden (Gilman 1991: 18) is also notable. Moreover, the Cabala is also associated with secret societies, another suitable affiliation given that bastardized cabalistic ideas constituted the philosophical foundations of most secret societies in Europe. Finally, the Cabala was also conceived, rather appropriately, to be fundamental to any engagement

with secret science. In The Rosicrucian Enlightenment, Frances Yates articulately argues that the Hermetic-Cabalist tradition only managed to survive within such secret societies from whence it generated the scientific revolution of the seventeenth century. With specific regard to the foundations of Rosicrucianism, Yates claims that the “manifestos stress Cabala and Alchymia as the dominant themes in the movement” (222). Following Yates, Marie Roberts explains that

[e]soteric sects also cultivate alternative modes of communication through secret signs, pass-words and hieroglyphics.¹⁶ For example, the Rosicrucians blend the hermetic mysteries with those of the Cabala, a strain of Jewish mysticism which incorporates a system of numerology. In some secret societies Cabalistic trance techniques were employed in order to induce visionary states. (1986: 4)

While Yates and Roberts are correct in their claims that the Cabala was at the core of most European secret societies, they fail to note that the popular understanding of the Cabala was a bastardization of the original theosophy.

Marie Roberts notes, however, that Gothic literature was a crucial medium for demonizing secret societies. For example, despite the fact that the Illuminati emerged as a society with a revolutionary socio-political message that originated as a harbinger for the Enlightenment (61), they were represented in literature as an instrument of repression (6). This transformation reflected a critique of what some social thinkers perceived to be an ironic but dangerous hypocrisy lurking at the core of all secret societies. According to English journalist and diarist Henry Crabb Robinson, although the Illuminati professed themselves “to be the arch-enemies of such obscurantists as the Jesuits, ... [they] had become ... ‘an Antijesuitical Jesuitism’” (Roberts 61). Such a critique of the Illuminati suggests that they, with the best of spiritually-motivated intentions, ended up adopting tyrannical measures and succumbing to materialistic gains, thus reproducing the flaws of the very order they set out to oppose. A similar sort of critique was launched in Gothic

literature where the founding philosophy of the Rosicrucians was represented as materialistic rather than spiritual in its aims. While the Rosicrucians established the pursuit of the philosopher's stone and the elixir vitae as goals involving mankind's spiritual development, these aims were represented in Gothic literature as solely materialistic, as involving freedom from the physical plights of poverty, death, and old age. The Confessio, the second Rosicrucian manifesto published in 1615, clearly expresses the spiritual tenet that the brotherhood will be visible only to those who are chosen by God and not to those pursuing riches and knowledge in defiance of God's will. In spite of this doctrine, Rosicrucianism was consistently portrayed in eighteenth-century literature as focusing primarily on secular concerns (Roberts 6). The Cabala was similarly demonized in the Gothic genre and, as it was regarded as the ideological basis of the most prominent secret societies, the equation between Judaism and the occult was readily forged.

Moreover, the perceived view of the Cabala's position vis-à-vis religion and science rendered it the enemy of both Christians and rationalists. Based upon a philosophy that encouraged the scientific exploration of God, cabalistic magical science was regarded as a paradoxical domain of investigation that blurred the boundary between religion and science. As the Gothic novel often intervened in the science versus faith debate which was prevalent during the Enlightenment, it was a highly suitable genre for featuring magical science. The products of magical science were also considered to be socially dangerous. In fact, they were sometimes blamed for promoting anti-Christian ideas and perpetrating the French Revolution. According to the Abbé d'Auribeau d'Hesmivy in his Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de la persécution française, recueillis par les ordres de Notre Très Saint-Père Pie VI which was published in Rome in 1794, ingenious inventions like Montgolfiers and the "science" of mesmerism were revived in the 1790s with the intention of exposing Christ's miracles as attributable to natural causes (Poliakov 527). D'Hesmivy's argument stands in stark contrast to Pico's claim several centuries earlier that the Cabala provided supportive evidence of Christ's existence and his miracles. The Abbé's opinion that magical science

inventions were subversive and anti-Christian did, however, represent the popular religious view at the end of the Enlightenment.

Another key element in the Cabala's demonization in both the European world-view and Gothic fiction was its association with messianism. It is significant to note that messianism became a core part of the Cabala on the heels of the Jews' expulsion from Spain in 1492 (Scholem 1971: 641). The legend of the Wandering Jew was also spread at this time when it was thought that the Last Days were at hand (Gow 16), and the Marranos, dispersed throughout Europe, were actually wandering (Poliakov 352). Like Christian Millenarianism, Jewish messianism escalated during periods of social crisis. Many Christians equated the Jewish Messiah with the anti-Christ whose goal was world domination. This connection between Judaism and powermongering was due, as Jacob Katz has explained, to the concept of Jewish messianism (1970: 218-219). Ironically, the Cabala, which desired to hurry the coming of the Messiah, was actually regarded as heretical by many Jews. Among Christians, it was regarded as the height of anti-Christianity, a sort of dark mirror or demonic double of the New Testament. The Lurianic Cabala, so called because it was disseminated throughout Europe in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries by Isaac Luria and his followers who formed a group in Palestine, was particularly reflective of the New Testament in its millenarian focus (Yates 228).

The hugely popular seventeenth-century Jewish millenarian movement known as Sabbatianism which heralded the Levantine Jew Sabbatai Zevi as the Messiah, was also grounded in mystical cabalism (Garrett 9). It was not unusual for some cabalists to declare themselves the long awaited Jewish Messiah, and Zevi was the most famous of such Messiahs. Born in Turkish Anatolia in the seventeenth century, Zevi especially appealed to the oppressed and the desperate. Great crowds of hysterical men and women, especially drawn from the ghettos of Europe, paid him homage and prepared for the day on which he would announce the beginning of the Messianic era and would lead them to the Holy Land

(142). Zevi's move towards Palestine also occurred in the ominous year 1666 (Matar 1985: 127). Although Zevi subsequently converted to Islam — an act which shocked Christians and Jews alike — the Jewish millenarian movement of Sabbatianism was regarded as dangerous in England for it “challenged both New Testament doctrine and the theological legitimacy of the English state” (139). Without the proviso of conversion to Christianity, the Jewish restoration to Palestine both “undermined Christian doctrine and made England subservient to Israel” (139).

Jewish messianism also had a connection to the secret sciences. Perhaps the most popular creation to emerge from the practical Cabala was the zombie-like figure of the Golem, a messianic being fashioned out of clay and animated by a cabalistic adept or a rabbi in order to help the Jewish community in times of crisis. The Golem is most popularly associated with the famous folk hero Rabbi Judah Loew ben Bezalel, the Maharal of Prague (Bilski 13), who has been described in rather Gothic terms as a “Faustian” figure (Nurbhai 39) with “kabbalistic proclivities” (Ruderman 98). Sixteenth-century Prague was, of course, the great centre for Jewish Cabalism (Yates 228) and the birthplace of several cabalistically-based secret societies. Loew's miraculous Golem was apparently divinely sent in response to a dream question from Loew about how to protect the Jewish community against the blood libel (Goldsmith 16).

The legend of this messianic figure is rich with Gothic possibilities. Indeed, this uncanny creature is particularly intriguing in the light of Gothic novels ranging from Mary Shelley's Frankenstein to Bram Stoker's Dracula which feature alchemy and living-dead creatures composed of inanimate or dead matter.¹⁷ Animated by the adept's inscription of a sign — the word emet, meaning truth — on his forehead, the Golem often becomes an uncontrollable creation that reflects an inner tension in his creator. The reconfiguration of several key elements in his story has resulted, particularly in the realm of German expressionist cinema, in his sinister transformation into a bloodthirsty Anti-Christ figure inscribed with a mark of Cain. In this menacing form, the Golem is, unarguably, a blood

brother of the vampiric Wandering Jew in Gothic literature. Both are undead, uncanny creatures who blur the boundary between life and death. As Paul Wegener's demonic treatment of the Golem in his 1920 film Der Golem: Wie er in die Welt kam and Walter Jacobi's anti-semitic tract of 1941, Golem ... Geissel der Tschechen (Golem ... Scourge of the Czech) illustrate, the transmission of this tale into European society rendered it a terrifying story of Jewish powermongering.¹⁸ By way of this figure, the Jews were portrayed as possessing the ultimate powers of controlling life and death. Gothic literature's Wandering Jew is similarly portrayed as his prolonged life is usually attributed to his demonic magical powers, powers he wields in defiance of God's natural laws. The Wandering Jew generally recognizes, however, that his prolonged existence is a curse and that he is the accursed of God.

Jewish messianism also became linked increasingly to Freemasonry across Europe (Katz 1970: 218, Roth 1940: 226). The roots of the statement published in 1882 in La revue des questions historiques that "Judaism rules the world, and we must therefore conclude either that the Masons have become Jewish or that the Jews have become Masons" (Cohn-Sherbok 169) finds its origins in the fact that "the emergence of the Freemasons and the entry of Jews into European society took place almost simultaneously" (Katz 1970: 8). In his compelling work, Jews and Freemasons in Europe 1723-1939, Jacob Katz outlines how "a new type of Jew was emerging" in the early to mid-eighteenth century, "one who had acquired some Western education and had adjusted his behavior to conform to the standards accepted among gentiles, to the extent that he now could aspire to full membership in their society" (1970: 2). In considering the rise of this new type of Jew, the radically changing face of traditional Europe in the eighteenth century, and the growth of Freemasonry, Katz delineates the real and imaginary links forged between Judaism and Freemasonry since the latter's inception in England in 1717.¹⁹ Although it is true that Freemasonry, in its initial form and as it continued to develop, incorporated a fair amount of cabalistic, iconography and content²⁰ (1970: 222) — in fact, a Reform rabbi

named Gotthold Salomon “argued that Freemasonry was more Jewish than Christian” (Katz 1970: 221) — many Masonic lodges throughout Europe, particularly in Germany, were anti-Semitic. They strictly disallowed the entry of Jewish members. As Katz notes, “the Masonic lodges themselves not only entertained serious reservations against Jews but even gave vent to expressions of contempt for Jews and to the systematic exposition of anti-Semitic ideas” (1970: 222).²¹

Such blatant anti-Semitism did not prevail in British lodges. According to Cecil Roth, in some English Lodges Jews held high office as early as 1723 (1940: 226). This served to establish a connection between Judaism and Freemasonry in British popular mythology as brotherhoods which challenged, and even threatened to subvert, all forms of authority. Branded as constituting “a state within a state,” both Jews and Freemasons became equally despised groups in Britain who were accused of craving world power. Particularly in the Jews' move towards social assimilation, an act which involved both the dismantling of traditional exclusionary barriers and the erasure of ethnic and class differences, they aroused nothing short of resentment, fear, and hatred.

As Katz foregrounds, the eighteenth century marked a crucial period of transition in the British Jewish community. Among other reasons, British Jews were attracted to Freemasonry at this time because it offered a key to their entry into British society. According to Katz, in “Jewish eyes, the chief importance of Freemasonry lay in its opening a path for Jewish integration into the social environment” (216). Although the Freemasons were described in popular tracts as a state within a state, many of their members were well-respected citizens who wielded tremendous social power. Acceptance of the Jews within such a circle, therefore, did have an impact on their acceptance in society at large. It is vital to note that, in adopting what Katz refers to as the “principle of universality [which] was the justification for most of the social transformations of the eighteenth century” (9), all specifically Jewish traditions were abandoned by Jews in favour of “a universal value-

system which they could display before all men" (216). Notably, one of the first things that European Jews abandoned was the Cabala (Scholem 1960: 1).

Ironically, while certain segments of the Jewish population discarded the Cabala in an attempt to be assimilated more easily into Christian European society, the Jew-Cabala association was concurrently being reinforced in European cultural productions like the Gothic novel. Institutions like Freemasonry that offered and promoted democracy and assimilation were also libelled during this time. Secret societies like Freemasonry were depicted as hotbeds of political radicalism which were increasingly controlled by Jews or Crypto-Jews who fervently resisted religious and national assimilation. Suggestions are frequently made that, by way of these Cabala-based institutions which were ostensibly advocating religious tolerance and political equality, powermongering Jews were engaged in the socio-political subversion of Christian Europe. It would seem that when the Cabala is mentioned in anti-secret society pamphlets published during the eighteenth-century *fin de siècle*, the suggestion is made that the worship of Judaism actually lies at the core of those societies. It is also usually further suggested that secret society members are seduced by the guise of religious tolerance and are themselves unaware of the society's actual aim to "Judaize," to convert unwitting Christians to Jewish practice and ritual.

Evidence that the cabalistic semiotics I have outlined were operative by the 1790s is provided in The Life of Joseph Balsamo commonly called Cagliostro, a captivating account of the life of the notorious Italian impostor. Written by one Monsignor Barben and published in Dublin in 1792 before the Abbé Barruel disseminated his Jewish conspiracy theory, this work portrays Cagliostro as a Wandering Jew-style gambler whose "cabalistical discoveries" (69) and use of freemasonry were instrumental in his robbery of European citizens and his subversion of European governments. Claiming that he was "born before the deluge" (62), Cagliostro is described according to established anti-Semitic stereotypes. He is also said to "love the Jews ... exceedingly". Linking the Jews and the concept of revolution, Cagliostro heralds Judaism as "the true religion" that will be

reinstated after the French Revolution occurs (103). Described as using “an almost Israelitish jargon” (40), and affirming that the Jews are “the best nation in the world” (143), Cagliostro is also said to “have a passion for wandering” (49). Barben explains, however, that this obsessive behaviour has “peculiar advantages” for it removes him “from his censors, his creditors, and his enemies” (49). Despite his knowledge of “the art of making gold and of prolonging human existence” (46) — abilities often shared by Gothic literature’s Wandering Jew — Cagliostro is said to be drawn to Masonry for economic reasons. He is attracted by the prospect of rich contributions from his followers (134).

Rather appropriately, the passage relating the origins of Cagliostro’s magical abilities read like Gothic fiction. Explaining the significance of Cagliostro’s ritual act of swearing by the names of Helios, Méné, and Tetraganimaton, Barben relates:

In a book said to be printed at Paris in 1789; it is asserted that these ... words were suggested to Cagliostro, as sacred and cabalistical expressions, by a pretended conjurer, who said that he was assisted by a spirit, and that this spirit was no other than the soul of a cabalistical Jew, who by means of the magical art had murdered his own father, before the coming of Jesus Christ. (140)

Yoking together the Cabala, imposture, and an ancient act of patricide, Barben anticipates the semiotics of much Gothic literature and Barruel’s Mémoires (which were also published in Dublin). The Jewish blood libel is even vaguely alluded to when Barben describes how the Masonic initiation ritual involves removing blood from the initiate (144) who subsequently becomes, in a parody of Christian conversion, a new man on the fortieth day (145).²² Cagliostro is even connected to the French Revolution, an event he apparently predicted in a letter written in London in 1786 (103). His revolutionary principles are especially upheld, however, in his act of establishing different Masonic lodges across Europe. These “monstrous assemblage[s] of persons of all sects and denominations of religion” (124) include “Jews, Calvinists, Lutherans, [and] Catholics” (138). Barben is

disturbed by this inclusion of members of various religious faiths and the fact that Cagliostro extends Masonic membership to women (136). Barben disapprovingly notes that as long as Cagliostro's "many millions" of Masonic followers (181) believe in God and the immortality of the soul, they are all regarded as equals (185). In their eradication of religious and gender differences, Cagliostro's European lodges raise the spectre of assimilation. Given Barben's claim that Cagliostro's ultimate goal is to reinstate Judaism as the official state religion after the French Revolution (103), Cagliostro's policy of religious inclusion is even more sinister. According to Barben, it veils the Crypto-Jewish agenda of national domination.

Finally, a link is suggested in this compelling document between Cagliostro and the Anti-Christ. Events before his arrest and judgement by the holy Roman Inquisition parodically replay Christ's last days. Barben points out how in Lyons

... in imitation of the great founder of Christianity, he [Cagliostro] elected twelve disciples whom he named his apostles, and empowered them to preach his doctrines to all nations, whether Jews or Gentiles. On that occasion he predicted that one of them would betray him, as Judas had betrayed Jesus; and, in consequence of it, would be reduced to great misery: all of which, as he asserts, actually took place ... (161)

After explaining how the Inquisition sentenced Cagliostro to life imprisonment, Barben strikes this work's anti-Masonic keynote: "It will ... occur to every person of common sense, who happens to read and to weigh the facts contained in this history, that folly, superstition, and impiety are the distinguishing characteristics of those societies, at present known in Europe by the name of Free Masons" (267-8). Barben's conclusion also anticipates Robison's description of Freemasonry as a form of disease: "We trust that it will please God, that all the rest of the world, convinced by the unspeakable miseries of the present times, may be enabled to deliver themselves from this dangerous contagion!" (269).

Publications like Barben's attest to the prevalence of the cabalistic semiotics attached to the Jew during the 1790s. The fact that such bastardization and demonization of the Jewish mystical tradition occurred during the very period when various projects were being undertaken throughout Europe to assimilate Jews along both religious and national lines could not have been sheer coincidence. The popular fictional representation of the secret society as an occult power-hungry cabal is inextricably bound up with the traditional stereotype of the dreaded demonic Jewish "race" that threatened European society's spiritual values during this period. The resentment, fear, and hatred generated by the prospect of assimilation, of dismantling traditional exclusionary barriers, and of erasing ethnic and class differences, was channelled into Gothic fiction. Various works within that genre function as a testament to and furnish a barometer of this social anxiety.

III. "The British Inquisition":

British Nationalism, Blood Purity, and the Threat of the Crypto-Jew

From the early days of Christianity the Inquisition existed in the spirit, if not in the form. The wretched pack of controversial wolves, the so-called Fathers of the Church, when not flying at one another's throats, were ever busy in spewing forth their fanatical venom upon all not of their ilk.
(Heckethorn 172)

Nothing is more noteworthy with regard to British anxieties about the potential eradication of Jewish difference than the fact that so many Gothic novels are set against the backdrop of the Spanish Inquisition. This historic institution aimed to ferret out heretics and, more importantly for my examination, Christianized Jews, otherwise known as Marranos²³ or conversos. While its titular object was the salvation of souls (Roth 1937: 38) and the realization of the religious unity of Spain (57), the Spanish Inquisition was also motivated by intense resentment, fears about progressive ideas, and growing nationalist sentiment. The establishment of this institution only a century after the forced conversion of thousands of Spanish Jews at the end of the fourteenth century was an anxious and jealous reaction, as Cecil Roth has cogently illustrated, to the Marranos' social, political, and economic success (32). In these Marranos, Spaniards saw hypocritical Crypto-Jews "who had lost none of their unpopular characteristics, pushing their way into the highest positions in the state" (30-1). As I will examine shortly, Jews were also blamed for the spread of dangerous progressive ideas. In order to rid their country permanently of the "Jewish heresy," Spanish sovereigns signed a decree on March 30th, 1492, to expel the remaining Jews from Spain (57-8). The Catholic Church continued its persecution of the Marranos by way of the Inquisition, and Catholic Spaniards supported this institution as indispensable for national preservation (71).

Spanish fanatical adherence during the Inquisition's operation to what became known as "the cult of limpieza de sangre", purity of blood (Kamen 123), signalled a

momentous shift in European thought from religious/theological anti-Semitism to racial/secular anti-Semitism (Roth 1937: 58). Richard H. Popkin has explained how “Until the Spanish Inquisition introduced biological criteria to answer ‘Who is a Jew?’ or ‘Who is a New Christian?’ the prevailing Christian view was that people were Jews by choice” (411). The Inquisition established the idea, however, that Jewishness was inherent and ineradicable and that Jews could not possibly convert to Christianity. In this new view, Jews were essentially regarded as members of a race rather than followers of a religion. Considered in these terms, the idea of religious conversion was considered to be impossible. The persecution of conversos a century after their forced conversion in Spain lends support to Jean-Paul Sartre’s claim that “the true opponent of assimilation is not the Jew but the anti-Semite” (143). Clearly, the eradication of religious differences between Jews and Catholics — the assimilation of Jews into a Christian nation — disturbed many Spanish Catholics. The fact that Christianized Jews were labelled conversos suggests that assimilation had not actually occurred on the social level. Ironically and tragically, the Spanish Jew was damned if he did not convert (Jews were expelled from the country) and damned if he did convert (Christian Jews were persecuted).

Léon Poliakov has further explained how the legend of the Wandering Jew was inextricably bound up with the inception of racial anti-Semitism. He notes how this legend spread after the Jews were expelled from Spain²⁴ and how its fascination increased in nineteenth-century Europe with the general emancipation of Western Jews. Poliakov argues that the legend of the Wandering Jew replaced the myth of Judas as the prevalent Jewish myth in the Christian imagination in order to reflect the changing Jewish situation in Europe. While the myth of Judas laid emphasis on the Jew’s accursed action, the new myth of the Wandering Jew foregrounded the Jew’s very essence and nature as accursed. The new myth of the Wandering Jew, therefore, signalled a significant transition from theological to racial anti-Semitism (352-3). Paul Lawrence Rose concurs, explaining that:

... Ahasverus represented now a collective guilt inherent in the wandering, homeless Jewish nation. Each individual Jew lay under a curse from which he had to redeem himself and his race, a curse symbolizing inherited ethnic guilt.... This shift is visible in the changed meaning of Ahasverus's epithet, the Ewige Jude or "Eternal Jew." (24)

Rose's argument that this racially-based idea of the Eternal Jew became the dominant German conception of Judaism in the early part of the nineteenth century concurs with Poliakov's theory about the shift in the nature of anti-Semitism in early nineteenth-century Europe when Western Jews were emancipated. While Poliakov traces what he calls the "innumerable offspring" of Wandering Jew figures in French literature during this period (352), Rose does the same within the German tradition. He astutely describes the Wandering Jew legend as an "allusive, plastic myth, comprehending themes of death, eternal Jewish character, and final redemption, ... [which] supplied the most potent vehicle for the secular mythology of the 'destruction of Judaism' that came to dominate German revolutionary antisemitism in the nineteenth century" (23).

Although responses to the Jewish Question differed from nation to nation, racial anti-Semitism in Europe infused the Wandering Jew legend. Especially when emancipated Jews raised the prospect of national assimilation, the Wandering Jew legend was prevalent in popular culture. It is my contention that the often invoked scenario of the Spanish Inquisition and the appearance of this wanderer in the Gothic genre bespeak, among other things, anxieties in Britain about the nature of British national identity and the possibility of Jewish assimilation. These narrative elements are vital to the blood thematics of British Gothic literature which speak to the issues of ethnicity and national belonging. By reconfiguring the notorious blood libel which reflected cultural taboos, and transforming the Wandering Jew into an increasingly vampiric figure, Gothic writers articulated national fears and graphically defined the demonic nature of the non-belonging "Other."

Several critics have noted that the Spanish Inquisition is used in such works as Matthew G. Lewis's The Monk in order to represent the more immediate and shocking events of the French Revolution, the most momentous event in eighteenth-century European history. Both the Spanish Inquisition and the French Revolution generated messianic hopes and eschatological concerns²⁵, and both were regarded by Britons as crowning examples of Roman Catholic tyranny. It is often forgotten by twentieth-century readers, however, that the Spanish Inquisition was still in operation during the period when Gothic literature was being produced. In fact, the Spanish Inquisition was only finally abolished in 1834. Speaking about Ann Radcliffe's representation of that institution in her 1764 novel The Italian, Irene Bostrom explains that:

The Inquisition was not regarded as merely an institution of an earlier age, since it still existed in Spain and Portugal. The result was that readers of Gothic novels did not always think of these scenes as part of a distant past but associated them with Catholicism. (159)

In its representation of the Spanish Inquisition during a period when that institution remained intact and the French Revolution and Terror were also occurring, British Gothic literature both reflected and fuelled national anti-Catholic prejudices.

Notably, the Spanish Inquisition's obsession with national racial purity and its fears regarding Jewish assimilation were also prevalent concerns during the French Revolution. Napoleon's pledge to grant Jews the rights of citizenship, resuscitated the threat to eradicate Jewish difference.²⁶ Since September 28, 1791, revolutionary France and most of the other countries under Napoleonic domination offered Jews complete emancipation in accordance with the Declaration of the Rights of Man (Poliakov 213). The Jewish Question in both Spain and France was crucial to the process of defining national identity. As Gary Kates has astutely argued in the case of France, "[t]he debate over Jewish emancipation was ... a debate over what it meant to be a French citizen" (109). As was also the case in Spain, the prospect of Jewish assimilation in France gave birth to racial

anti-Semitism. Alain Finkielkraut has asserted that anti-Semitism in France “turned racist only on the fateful day when, as a consequence of Emancipation, you could no longer pick Jews out of a crowd at first glance” (83). Confronted by the threat of Jewish assimilation, the spectre of the Crypto-Jew was born in the Christian imagination.

The semiotics surrounding the spectre of the Crypto-Jew and his putative acts of national subversion in Spain uncannily echo those evoked in the alarmist and imaginative works of Barben, Robison, and Barruel about the role of Jews and the Cabala in secret societies during the French Revolution. The fear of the Marrano parallels the fear of the French Revolutionaries and their covert Jewish leaders as depicted and disseminated in documents written primarily by Jesuits. Historical examinations chronicling the perception of the Jew by the Spanish Inquisition even read — as do the aforementioned Jesuit works — like Gothic novels. Indeed, the popular Gothic idea introduced by Horace Walpole in The Castle of Otranto that the sins of the fathers would be visited on subsequent generations was actually played out during the Spanish Inquisition. Henry Kamen relates how “[i]n theory the Inquisition visited the sins of fathers only up to the second generation, and this was supported by canon law” (128-9). Under this legislation, Marranos could be, and were, persecuted for their parents’ conversions to Christianity.

As it is related in historic studies, the Spanish Inquisition's Gothic-sounding plot involved “a vast conspiracy covering Spain in the interests of subverting Christianity” (Kamen 65). The Jewish Marrano functioned as its featured multifaceted villain and “Other” upon whom Catholic Spaniards projected their worst fears. As Kamen writes, “[i]n the constant struggle waged by the right-wing to preserve Catholic Spain, all that was hostile and sinister became personified in the Jew who was on the other side” (229). The blood libel also assumed a central role as allegations of ritual murder were circulated (42). The origins of the encroaching secret society “heresies” of Illuminism (78-79) and Freemasonry (261) were attributed to Marranos (88). The terrifying spectre of speculative science was also laid at the doorstep of the Jewish Marrano (106). He was accused of

having feigned Christian conversion in order to surreptitiously convert his host's citizens, thus subverting his host nation.

Two points should be made with regard to the popular and simplistic British equation of the Spanish Inquisition and the French Revolution as examples of Roman Catholic tyranny. The first is that the supporters of the Spanish Inquisition were, like most Britons, extremely fearful of the French Revolution and its perceived anti-Christian tendencies. Kamen explains that very soon after the outbreak of the French Revolution the Inquisition prohibited all French literature and pamphlets proclaiming democratic, anti-monarchist ideas (262). The Holy Office subsequently censored French books. Included among them, rather ironically, was Edmund Burke's conservative, anti-Revolutionary tome Reflections on the Revolution in France which had been published in Spain in French (265). The second and more crucial point to note with regard to the popular British equation of the Spanish Inquisition and the French Revolution is the lack of sympathy extended towards Jews in British Gothic novels featuring the Inquisition. Michael Ragussis has argued correctly that "English discourse about the Inquisition, while consistently anti-Catholic, typically failed to be pro-Jewish" (135). As I illustrate in the following chapter, Jewish and Catholic characters are depicted in novels like Godwin's St. Leon and Maturin's Melmoth the Wanderer as equally barbarous and cannibalistic. Their British Anglican authors assume a superior stance as enlightened and civilized onlookers.

Ironically, representations of the Jew in British Gothic literature reveal anxieties similar to those expressed by the Spanish Inquisition and by French citizens during the French Revolution. In their depiction of Jews and the Spanish Inquisition, Gothic novelists represent their own deep-seated concerns about the prospects of Jewish religious conversion and Jewish secular assimilation into the British nation. These anxieties were exacerbated by actual historical events in the eighteenth-century fin de siècle. The attempts of British missions to convert Jews had reached a fever pitch by the 1790s. Michael Ragussis explains that what "had been throughout most of the eighteenth century a steady

(if somewhat negligible) stream of literature on the conversion of the Jews and their restoration to Palestine became nothing short of a torrent in the 1790s" (4). This phenomenon generated intense social anxiety both because it was believed that Jewish conversion to Christianity would precipitate the Second Coming and, more importantly, because it heralded the Jews' assimilation into the British nation.

The spectre of Jewish assimilation had been raised earlier in the eighteenth-century in England in the form of the Jewish Naturalization Bill of 1753. Deemed by some historians to be "one of the fiercest public issues of the eighteenth century ... [this Bill] had a very direct and serious effect on the Jews in England, for it kindled or rekindled latent anti-Semitism" (Rubin 39). Ironically, the "Jew Bill," as it was dubbed, did not promote radical change. As Abba Rubin explains, "Its provisions would have permitted the future naturalization of professing Jews; [but] it would not have affected the Jews already in England, nor did it provide for any large scale naturalization" (37). The general population was, nonetheless, outraged and alarmed. In combination with the arrival of great numbers of Jews fleeing pogroms in Poland and Russia, and the growing wealth and influence of some English Jews, a virulent anti-Jewish campaign was begun (Ausubel 182). Charges of Jewish conspiracies in the formation of new joint-stock trading companies were circulated (Levy 1908: 239)²⁷ and, before the end of 1754, "roughly sixty pamphlets were published concerning the [naturalization] measure; most of them opposed it". Attacked in part on economic grounds, the Bill generated a venomous campaign in London which foregrounded Jewish religious difference (Rubin 41). Anti-Semitic caricature and violence became the order of the day (Ausubel 182). The "Jew Bill" controversy also made its way into light verse. In his comprehensive study of this Bill, Thomas Perry cites "a widely reprinted occasional prologue, written by Garrick and spoken by the comedian Foote, [that reads] 'The many various objects that amuse / These busy curious times, by way of news, / Are plays, elections, murders, lott'ries, Jews'" (104).

Popular response to the "Jew Bill" sheds some light on the representation of the Jew in British Gothic literature. In particular, it exhibits the tenacity of medieval anti-Semitic stereotypes in mid-eighteenth century Britain. The anonymous author of a pamphlet entitled Modest Apology for the Citizens and Merchants of London, who petitioned the House of Commons against Naturalizing the Jews, argued that "England was a Christian nation, 'founded upon the doctrine of Jesus Christ,' and could not admit these 'crucifiers' without becoming involved in their inherited guilt" (Perry 92-93). Nowhere is this idea more pronounced or more effectively relayed than in anti-Naturalization writings which comically manipulated the "sanguinary" Jewish rite of circumcision (Wolper 32). Also dubbed the "Circumcision bill," the "Jew Bill" elicited much black humour about circumcision which was predicated upon the dark stereotype of the barbarous, knife-wielding Jew who was ready, willing, and able to violently convert Christians to Judaism by way of circumcision (29). James Shapiro relates how the figure of Shylock was even incorporated into anti-Naturalization Bill writings:

A good number of ... [their] allusions turned on a knife-wielding, circumcising, castrating Shylock. In "The Prophecies of Shylock" that appeared in the London Evening Post, there is ... [mention that] an "advertisement was found placed against the meeting house at Dartford in Kent" that reads: "to all Jews ... pensioners and others whom it may concern: this is to give notice that this evening will be held at the Bull Inn a private circumcision feast, ... Benjamin Shylock, Scribe." (219-220)

In one highly significant instance, the spectre of the circumcising Jew was united with the blood libel and the image of the venomous Christ-killer. A report from the London Evening Post stated that "seven Jews were brought from Norwich, which had stolen a christen'd Child; had circumcised it, and minded to have crucified him at Easter" (Wolper 35 n.34). As Roy Wolper perceptively argues, the "[circumcision] fantasy threatened castration" (29). Deciphering this symbolism in terms of its more precise socio-political

meaning, Wolper explains that the “metonymy of circumcision” prevalent in discussions of the “Jew Bill” in the popular press revealed English fear and anxiety about the distribution of power (33). That such fears were rendered in terms of a sexual threat is interesting. The perceived danger that Jewish naturalization posed to the British body politic is rendered more immediate and personal as a direct physical attack on the British man's body. This spectre of the converting, circumcising Jew is, as I illustrate in the following chapter, used to convey religious anxieties in Maturin's Melmoth the Wanderer.

On December 20, 1753, on the heels of this popular uproar, the Jewish Naturalization Bill was repealed and the agitation subsided (Rubin 42). A variety of economic, nationalistic, and religious factors clearly motivated this virulently anti-Semitic outrage (Wolper 28). After a new wave of massacre in eastern Europe in 1768 forced more Jews to emigrate to England, increasingly violent anti-Semitic episodes occurred (Roth 1940: 235), and legislation promoting Jewish rights and interests met with consistent opposition. Abba Rubin explains that these attitudes remained unaltered for the duration of the century²⁸:

... in 1765 an attempt to revive the Jew Bill proved abortive. And when, in 1783, the Parliament passed the Irish Naturalization Act, the Jews were specifically excepted. As late as 1786, in Isaac v. Gompertz as in the earlier case of Da Costa v. De Paz, a Jewish behest for the support of a synagogue, this time in Magpie Alley, was disallowed. (45)

Especially at century's end during the period of the French Revolution and Terror, Jews were regarded as a nationally subversive force with Jacobin sympathies. According to Cecil Roth:

The Aliens Act of 1793, which placed foreigners settled in England under strict control, resulted in sporadic raids on Jewish pedlars and petty traders throughout the country, and the deportation of a number of them. Thereafter there were recurrent alarms. When the French occupied Venice it

was reported by the British representative there that the Jews of the city were in treasonable correspondence with their co-religionists in London. (1940: 238)

The popular notion that Jews were Jacobin sympathizers was upheld in Edmund Burke's famous 1790 work Reflections on the Revolution in France which was written in response to a sermon by the famous Nonconformist minister Richard Price. Price's address praising the proceedings in France was delivered on the site of the old Jewish ghetto in London. In an analysis of Burke's rhetoric in Reflections, Michael Ragussis argues that Burke "turns the simple designation of place — 'the dissenting meeting house of the Old Jewry' — into the infectious sign of an as yet undefined (though nonetheless threatening) principle of Jewishness, so that the place-name eventually marks the speaker, the speech, the audience, the contents of the speech, and an entire species of discourse" (120). Ragussis's assessment of Burke's rhetorical strategy lends support to what I have described as the demonic semiotic yoking of the concepts of national Revolution, France, and Judaism. Ragussis also notes how Burke forges a significant historical connection between the English Puritan Revolution and the French Revolution:

... while Burke never directly discusses the French Revolution's emancipation of the Jews, he sneers at the French by speaking of their "new Hebrew brethren". Behind both the English "Puritan Revolution" and the revolution in France, then, Burke discovers Judaizers, or at least Jewish sympathizers. In this light Price's sermon poses a genuine political threat to contemporary England; by capitalizing on the site of Price's sermon, Burke can designate Price as "the preacher of the Old Jewry" who rearticulates, in 1789, the "Old Jewry doctrine" of religious toleration, philo-Semitism, and revolution that rocked the English nation in the previous century. (121)

As I have illustrated, the connection Burke draws between English Republicans and Jews was actually prevalent in the seventeenth century.

The fear articulated by Burke that Britons would be “Judaized” was also not novel. James Shapiro has explained that since “the word Jew had entered into the English vocabulary in the thirteenth century as a catchall term of abuse, often directed at other Christians” the notion of the Jew “as irredeemable alien and the Jew as bogeyman into whom the Englishman could be mysteriously ‘turned’ coexisted at deep linguistic and psychological levels” (24). It is noteworthy that one of the three accusations against the Jews which impeded their readmission into Britain in the mid-seventeenth century involved their “unremitting efforts to convert their countrymen to Judaism” (Solomons 22).²⁹

At the level of British socio-historic reality, the greatly discussed conversion of Lord George Gordon to Judaism in 1787 exacerbated the fear of Judaization. Gordon, a rabidly anti-Catholic former MP and President of the United Protestant League was behind the “No Popery” Gordon Riots in June of 1780. These civil uprisings responded to a unanimously passed petition which allowed Catholics to serve in the Army and Navy in order to help fight in the American War. Notably, these riots coloured subsequent representations of the French Revolution.³⁰ In Birmingham in 1787, however, after championing Cagliostro in England (Solomons 12-13), Gordon converted to Judaism. It was said that Gordon — the man Horace Walpole called “The Lunatic Apostle” (Solomons 9) — even underwent ritual circumcision (25). Predictable anti-Semitic rumours also circulated that Gordon had converted for reasons of financial self-interest and self-aggrandizement. His staunch friend Robert Watson, for example, speculated that “Perhaps he hoped to give celebrity to his favourite scheme of finance by embracing Judaism ... [or] perhaps he expected to have led back the Israelites to their fathers’ land” (21).

The popular rumour that Gordon was mentally unstable (45) illustrates how hard-pressed Britons were to explain an act they considered to be nothing short of insane. Gordon clearly crystallised British fears about the prospect of Judaization. The Public Advertiser in January 1788 labelled him “grotesque” (28), and Frank Felsenstein relates how Gordon underwent an Ashkenazi pedlar “makeover” in a satirical print published in

Birmingham. Entitled Moses Gorden [sic] or the Wandering Jew, this print “integrates pedlar and Wandering Jew by depicting the lank-haired and bearded figure of Lord George Gordon, a famous convert to Judaism, dressed in traditional Ashkenazi fashion, as a street-dealer with a bag of old clothes under his arm and some rabbit-skins in the other hand” (62-64). Although Gordon's conversion was an exceptional and rare event, it served to raise the spectre of Judaization among the public at large. If wealthy Lords could fall victim to the seductions of Judaism then no one was considered safe. The fact that Gordon was an ardent Protestant, rather than an ardent Catholic prior to his conversion rendered the threat even greater.

Within this complex socio-historic landscape, a curious dynamic existed with regard to the eradication of Jewish difference: while British missionaries were avidly advocating the conversion of the Jews to Christianity, the popular view was that such a conversion was impossible. This was also the prevalent attitude regarding the Marranos in fifteenth-century Spain. As I will illustrate in the following chapter, Jewishness is regularly depicted in British Gothic literature as an essential characteristic that may not possibly be eradicated. Rather, it is frequently portrayed as a form of disease that may contaminate Christian Britain. This terrifying possibility was perhaps best captured in the figure of the Crypto-Jew which was popularized by the Spanish Inquisition. Indeed, in the figure of the nationless Wandering Jew, British Gothic writers have often presented what Ragussis refers to as the doppelgänger Crypto-Jew, “an amoral double agent ... or an amoral social climber ... who keeps his race secret to invade and to subvert the Christian world” (149). A crucial component of this subversion threat involves the fear that Jews will convert Christians to their demonic religion and value system. Although British Gothic literature's Wandering Jew may be said to be a unique specimen of this body-snatching alien, he owes something to cultural cross-fertilization by way of his European literary counterparts. As a brief examination will illustrate, the German Schauerroman, a fictional form of terror popular in Britain throughout the 1790s, introduced several

ingredients which became essential to British Gothic literature's cabalistic semiotics and its representation of the Wandering Jew.

NOTES

¹ The fear of a French invasion of Great Britain was not new. On the heels of fears of a Jacobite invasion, came the fear of a Jacobin invasion. As Linda Colley argues in her book Britons, these fears were not unfounded:

One of France's primary objectives in the Nine Years War (1689-97), in the War of Spanish Succession (1702-13) and in the War of Austrian Succession (1739-48) was an invasion of Britain in support of the Stuart claimants to the throne, first the exiled James II, then his son, James Edward Stuart, and finally his grandson, Charles Edward Stuart, alias Bonnie Prince Charlie. Since these princes were Roman Catholics, all of these wars were bound to raise the issue of the security of the Protestant settlement within Great Britain itself, as well as the spectre of another civil war on its shores. Even in the Seven Years War (1756-63), there was a slight, vestigial threat of a French-sponsored Jacobite invasion. (3-4)

² Maggie Kilgour provides the best synopsis, to date, of the debate about the political nature of the Gothic form in her recent study The Rise of the Gothic Novel. In the opening section entitled "The Nature of Gothic," Kilgour outlines how this genre is, of necessity, an ambivalent form. As she describes it, "Like the carnivalesque, the gothic appears to be a transgressive rebellion against norms which yet ends up reinstating them, an eruption of unlicensed desire that is fully controlled by governing systems of limitation. It delights in rebellion, while finally punishing it, often with death or damnation, and the reaffirmation of a system of moral and social order" (8).

³ According to the OED, theurgy is “A system of magic, originally practised by the Egyptian Platonists, to procure communication with beneficent spirits, and by their aid produce miraculous effects; in later times, [it is] distinguished as ‘white magic’ from GOETY or ‘black magic’” (II. 3288).

⁴ According to Ronald Paulson, Barruel was an adept Gothic fictionalizer in his own right. In his interpretation of French Revolutionary events, Barruel “offered an extremely symbolic explanation (down to the detection of the masonic triangle in the guillotine blade, invented by Dr. Guillotine, a freemason), one that could be called gothic in its emphasis on historical explanations and extreme causality, on devious and secret plotting, and on pseudoscience and occult philosophy” (241).

Barruel's impact on the Gothic novel has yet to be assessed. Lee Sterrenburg has begun the process, however, by suggesting that Barruel had a tremendous impact on both Mary and Percy Shelley. The Abbé's Memoirs was a favorite work of Percy's during his days at Oxford, and he and Mary studied Barruel during their continental tour of 1814 (155-6).

⁵ Bernard McGinn relates an intriguing tale about Napoleon's role as the Anti-Christ. Writing about Hester Thrale Piozzi, Samuel Johnson's friend, who “collected contemporary English witnesses to popular apocalyptic expectations in a diary she kept between 1776 and 1809 called the Thralliana”, McGinn explains that, “Always opposed to the French Revolution, she was happy to cite increasing evidence of its Antichrist-like character, culminating in Napoleon whose name she believed meant ‘the Destroyer’ in Corsican, and who she asserted ‘does come forward followed by a Cloud of Locusts from

ye bottomless Pit' (see Apocalypse 9:1-11). She even noted that some women in Wales told her that Napoleon's titles added up to 666" (244).

⁶ Sometimes referred to as the "British Israel Theory," Brothers's philosophy was a controversial idea popular in Britain into the twentieth century. It is important to note, however, that advocates of this theory are very careful to discount the "British equals Jewish" equation that the "British Israel Theory" might seem to suggest. In his fascinating 1871 treatise, The English Nation Identified with the Lost House of Israel by Twenty-Seven Identifications "dedicated to the (so-called) British people by their Kinsman," Edward Hine is careful to draw a marked distinction between the Jews and Israel. He maintains that while the Jews are "of Israel", they are not Israel (24). Hines then provides twenty-seven pieces of evidence in support of his main argument that the British people constitute the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel. The "blessings" they have inherited stem from the fact that the British are the "Heirs to Israel, ... the very descendants of this lost people, in whom, so many valuable promises are vested" (iii). Hines's aim in suggesting that the Jews are imposters is clearly to establish Britain's claim to the role of God's elect, the "chosen people," without simultaneously assuming the negative mantle associated with the traditional "chosen people," namely the Jews. While some critics of the British Israel theory have found it absurd, others have been uncomfortable with the proximity they perceive it creates between the Jews and the British. In his 1933 publication The British Israel Theory, H.L. Goudge counters the British Israel Theory whose recent popularity, he says, is attested to by the appearance of the fourteenth edition of a work called British Israel Truth (1932) produced by the Covenant Publishing Company.

⁷ This phenomenon was occurring in Britain even in the late sixteenth century when there were very few Jews in England. Cambridge-educated minister, Ralph Durden, was “imprisoned in 1586 for ‘predicting the downfall of the Tudor monarchy’ and for prophesying that ‘he would lead the Jews and all the saints to rebuild Jerusalem’” (Shapiro 1996: 142).

⁸ As in the case of the claims that Napoleon was the Antichrist, numerological theories were advanced about Cromwell's name. Although the mathematical calculations are not provided, Christopher Hill claims that, in his 1654 book A Trumpet Sounded, “John More, a London apprentice or journeyman, added Cromwell's names and titles up to make 666” (122).

⁹ In his 1714 publication Reasons for Naturalizing the Jews in Great Britain and Ireland. On the same foot with all other Nations. Containing also. A Defence of the Jews Against All vulgar Prejudices in all Countries, author John Toland anticipates that he will be accused of “Judaizing” (56) for supporting Jewish naturalization in Britain. It would seem that the accusation of Judaization was made about any individual who supported the Jews in any way over any issue.

¹⁰ While alchemy was an extremely minor component of the Cabala, other speculative areas of study such as numerology (known as gematria), and acrostic and anagrammatic word-play (respectively known as notarikon and themurah) were important to cabalistic endeavours. On the nature of gematria, notarikon and themura, see pages 8-9 in Blau.

¹¹ It is particularly curious that the anonymous English translator of the 1795 version of Schiller's The Ghost-Seer makes reference to the Christian abuse of the term Cabala:

Cabbala is properly a mysterious kind of science delivered by revelation to the ancient Jews, and transmitted by oral tradition to those of our times, serving for the interpretation of difficult passages in Scripture, and to discover future events by the combination of poetic words, letters and numbers. It is likewise termed the oral law. But Cabbala among the Christians is also applied to the use, or rather abuse, which visionaries and enthusiasts make of Scripture for discovering futurity, by the study and consideration of the combination of certain words, letters and numbers in the sacred writings. All the words, terms, magic characters or figures with stones and talismans, numbers, letters, charms, &c. employed in magic operations, are comprised under this species of Cabbala, and the word is used for any kind of magic, on account of the resemblance this art bears to the Jewish Cabbala. The Jews, however, never use the word in any such sense, but always with the utmost respect and veneration. (131-2)

This translator's awareness of the nature of the distinction between Jewish and Christian uses of the term is rare for the period.

¹² It is additionally noteworthy that the OED connects the word "cabal" with an important event in seventeenth-century history. It explains how the first initials of the last names of the five ministers of Charles II who signed the Treaty of Alliance with France for war against Holland in 1672 actually spelled the word "cabal." These ministers were Clifford, Arlington, Buckingham, Ashley (Earl of Shaftesbury), and Lauderdale. While the OED points out that this was "merely a witticism ... [as] these five men did not constitute the

whole 'Cabal', or Committee for Foreign Affairs", it also cites Thomas Babington Macaulay's explanation about this word's negative connotations. As Macaulay delineates, "It happened by a whimsical coincidence that, in 1671, the Cabinet consisted of five persons the initial letters of whose names made up the word Cabal. These ministers were therefore emphatically called the Cabal; and they soon made the appellation so infamous that it has never since their time been used except as a term of reproach" (1. 311). The alliance forged in the seventeenth century between the concept of a cabal — whether associated with Judaism and/or a secret group or society — and Catholic France, Protestant Britain's arch-enemy, was retained in classic British Gothic literature of the 1790s.

¹³ It would seem that schemes like Harrington's to "solve" the "Jewish Problem" were not exclusive to England. Furthermore, such schemes often linked the fate of the Jews to other marginalized groups who assumed the role as "Other" to the British. In 1819, for example, one German pamphleteer "suggested a solution linking Germany's Jews and the British empire's blacks by calling for a system of eugenics: 'Let the children of Israel be sold to the English, who could employ them in their Indian plantations instead of the blacks. That they may not increase, the men should be emasculated, and their wives and daughters be lodged in houses of shame'" (Ragussis 22).

¹⁴ It would appear that Maria Edgeworth intentionally used Harrington's name to convey irony in her 1819 novel Harrington. While James Harrington fostered anti-Semitic stereotypes, Edgeworth's novel is written as a response to and an apology for such ignorance.

¹⁵ Jacob Katz explains that “King Solomon was designated as the founder of the Order in Masonic legends, and his Temple was the structure symbolizing the perfection which Masons were striving to attain” (200).

¹⁶ The association between the Jews and a secret cabalistic language was also a well established idea. John Wilkins, a member of the “Invisible College” and Royal Society, “revealed that the real master of secret communication were the Jews” and “showed that Kabbalistic number-letter manipulations could be used to develop secret diplomatic codes” (Schuchard 120). This myth about Jews and a secret language persisted into Nazi Germany. As George L. Mosse relates about that period, “Some racists, once again making a connection with illicit sexuality, asserted that contemporary pimps communicated through a ‘Jewish secret language’” (147). I outline the popular anti-Semitic association between the Jew and the prostitute in Chapter Four.

¹⁷ At least one critic has suggested a connection between Mary Shelley's creature in Frankenstein and the Golem of cabalistic tradition. In his essay “Rava's Golem,” David M. Honigsberg writes:

Nowhere are the dangers of creation more poignantly elaborated on than in Mary Shelley's Frankenstein. The parallels between Victor's creation and the golem are apparent in such things as their size, strength, and lack of the power of speech, although Victor's creation does have the ability to learn language and speaks eloquently to Victor upon meeting him on the Mer de Glace. Grimm's Journal for Hermits was written only eight years before Frankenstein was published. It is well-known that Shelley was inspired to write her tale after trading German ghost stories at the home of Byron. It is

certainly possible that the stories included tales of golems, which were popular at that time. (143)

¹⁸ Lester D. Friedman describes Wegener's 1920 cinematic rendition of the Golem tale as a form of horror story. As the Jews are represented as wizards who inhabit cave-like dwellings in a sinister ghetto, Wegener's celluloid Golem represents a threat to the film's Gentiles posed by the Jews (53). In his 1941 publication Golem ... Geissel der Tschechen (Golem ... Scourge of the Czechs), Walter Jacobi represents the Golem as a type of anti-Christ and connects the Jews with the Freemasons whom he accuses of an international conspiracy to gain control of Czech society. Jacobi distorts the Golem story by citing the Golem as an instrument used by the Jews to enslave and destroy non-Jews. The cover of Jacobi's book depicts Prague's New Town Hall statue of Rabbi Loew and a variation of the Freemasonry symbol which resembles a Star of David (Bilski 72).

¹⁹ The date of 1717 provided by Katz as marking the origins in England of the Freemasonry movement is based on his claim that "the first [Masonic lodge], the London Grand Lodge, was founded in 1717" (2). This claim has been disputed by Frances Yates. She cites 1646 as marking "the earliest known record of speculative masonry in an English lodge" (210). She notes this, however, after remarking also how "The origin of Freemasonry is one of the most debated, and debatable, subjects in the whole realm of historical enquiry. One has to distinguish between the legendary history of Freemasonry and the problem of when it actually began as an organized institution. According to masonic legend, Freemasonry is as old as architecture itself, going back to Solomon's building at the Temple, and to the guilds of medieval masons who built the cathedrals" (209). Yates's date of 1646 does not undermine Katz's contention that the simultaneous

advent of Freemasonry and the entry of Jews into European society forever yoked them together in the minds of their various adversaries. Rather, the readmission of the Jews into England shortly after 1646 lends support to the popular conception of a Jewish-Freemasonry relationship. The fact that the legend of the Wandering Jew also made its début in England around this time also explains, in part, why this figure was so often connected to secret societies and secret sciences in the British popular worldview.

²⁰ As Jacob Katz notes, in Freemasonry the Jew met with both neutral symbols such as the angle-bar and the compass and symbols which derived from his own cultural and religious heritage. King Solomon, for example, was said to be the founder of the Masonic Order, and his Temple symbolized the structural perfection Masons set out to attain (200-1). Cecil Roth has also explained how the English Freemasons' coat of arms was said to have been designed by a rabbi. In 1765, Rabbi Judah Leão (called Templo) apparently exhibited a model of Solomon's Temple at Court (226).

²¹ A fascinating and rare secret society that practised non-exclusion was the Order of the Asiatic Brethren. An offshoot of the Freemasons, it originated in Vienna in 1780 at a time when Jews were systematically banned from Masonic membership throughout Germany (Katz 26). Based, as Gershom Scholem relates, on a conglomeration of Cabalistic, Sabbatian, and Christian theosophic doctrines (35), the philosophy of the Order of the Asiatic Brethren began as one of the most liberal secret societies to emerge during the Enlightenment. Its two founders — Hans Heinrich von Ecker, a Christian, and Ephraim Josef Hirschfeld, a Jew — reflected its syncretistic make-up. Strong anti-Semitic public opinion, however, tragically undermined this Order. Allegations that it was composed of “money grubbers” and possessed “a false and confused ideology” led to its fall from

prominence (42). In the final analysis, social discrimination undermined the relations between Ecker and Hirschfeld. As a result, Jewish members left the Order throughout the 1790s and it subsequently went into decline (53).

²² The nature and duration of this episode is extremely significant to the Christian tradition where the number forty is associated with forbearance and spiritual transformation. In the Old Testament, Moses was forty years of age when he struck the first blow for Israel's freedom (Exodus 2:11-12), he was on the Mount with God for forty days and nights (Exodus 24:18), and he wandered for forty years. Christ's temptation by Satan in the New Testament occurs after forty days and nights of fasting (Matthew 4:2). While Barben's portrait of Cagliostro's conspiratorial pro-Jewish sensibility stops short of labelling Cagliostro a Jew, it obviously adheres to the traditional pattern where the demonic Jew parodies sacred Christian practices.

²³ About the exact meaning of the term "Marrano," Norman Roth has explained that, despite the lack of supportive evidence, it is popularly understood to mean "pig" (3). Given that pork was taboo meat for both Jews and Moslems, and the term "Marrano" was applied to both Christianized Jews and Christianized Moslems, it was clearly intended as an insult. Medieval European illustrations of Jews engaged in various grotesque acts with pigs served as a similar type of religious affront.

²⁴ Poliakov's theory about the correlation between the spread of the legend of the Wandering Jew in Europe and the movement of actual Jews in that region is supported by R. Edelman. He provides evidence illustrating that, during the sixteenth century, the

Wandering Jew legend was known in the towns of Hamburg and Danzig, the only towns in northern Germany numbering Marranos among their population (7-8).

²⁵ I have already examined these issues in revolutionary France. With regard to the second half of the fifteenth and first decades of the sixteenth century when the Spanish Inquisition was first established, Andrew Colin Gow explains that both “Christians and Jews paid anguished attention to possible signs that the Last Days were at hand. The expulsion of the Jews from Spain and Messianic hopes among the Jews left in the Iberian peninsula and among those in Italy and Germany contributed to renewed Jewish hopes for the imminent arrival of the Messiah — regarded by many Christians as the Antichrist” (16-17).

²⁶ As excerpts from Napoleon's letters quoted by Poliakov reveal, Napoleon intended to destroy a “race” he regarded as accursed: “I do not intend to rescue that [Jewish] race, which seems to have been the only one excluded from redemption, from the curse with which it is smitten, but I would like to put it in a position where it is unable to propagate the evil.... When one in every three marriages will be between a Jew and a Frenchman, the Jew's blood will cease to have a specific character” (226). Other anti-Semitic revolutionaries proposed a radically different solution to the pressing “Jewish Question.” For example, Baudot, “a member of the National Convention and commissary for the armies of the Rhine and Moselle [suggested] that the Jews should be regenerated by guillotine” (221). Likeminded individuals recommended, in terms recalling the Spanish Inquisition, that “an auto da fé be made to Truth and all Hebrew books be burned” (222).

²⁷ For a specific instance of these Jewish conspiracy charges in 1753, the year of the Naturalization Bill, see S. Levy's "A Supposed Jewish Conspiracy in 1753." After examining documents regarding "the formation of a treasonable scheme by a rich Englishman, who endeavoured to enlist the services of two Jews ... to secure the support of the Emden Company in a new trading enterprise ... to [be] submit[ted] ... to the King of Prussia" (234), Levy concludes that "in the middle of the eighteenth century, schemes for the formation of new trading companies were still regarded with great suspicion, and not infrequently fictitious charges were framed against innocent individuals of attempting to prey on the confidence of the public in the proposed promotion of fresh plans for fresh plans for joint-stock enterprise. The supposed Jewish conspiracy in 1753 probably belongs to the same class of manufactured suspicion" (239). In 1753, the Franco-Prussian alliance was still in place and the rivalry between French and English trading companies, particularly in the East Indies, was very keen (Levy 239). This accusation of a Jewish-assisted treasonable conspiracy was, therefore, in keeping with the established view of the Jews as dreaded invaders whose allegiance was to capital rather than to Britain.

²⁸ Rubin should have added that these attitudes persisted in the British Parliament in the nineteenth century. For example, the fight to remove the Parliamentary disabilities of the Jews which began just before the Reform Bill of 1832 faced tremendous opposition. Opponents maintained that Jews were a separate nation who looked forward to their restoration to Palestine and had greater ties to their fellow Jews around the world than they did to other Britons (Rubinstein 75). This view of the Jews as representing a separate nation was popular since the Jews' reentry into Britain. The idea was rarely put forward that the Jews could be more readily assimilated into Britain because they did not have a country of their own. This rare argument was made, however, by the anonymous author

of the 1714 publication "Reasons for Naturalizing the Jews in Great Britain and Ireland, On the same foot with all other Nations. Containing also, A Defence of the Jews Against All vulgar Prejudices in all Countries." This author supported the very unpopular argument that British Jews should be naturalized. Among other points, s/he maintained that Jews would not enter into political engagements counter to British interests because Jews had no other national allegiance (12-13).

²⁹ The other two accusations involved their employment of "the blood of a Christian child in the performance of their Passover ceremonies" and the impoverishment "by their usury [of] the country in which they lived" (Solomons 22). In keeping with the theory that Christians have often projected their worst tendencies onto the Jew, Frank Felsenstein argues that "the reiterated anti-Semitic charge that the Jews would stop at nothing to convert or 'Judaize' the English may be interpreted as a distorted mirror-image of the message of Christian hope offered by evangelists to the survivors of God's biblical chosen people" (112).

³⁰ Ronald Paulson notes that "After 1780 the crowd was inextricably linked, in the minds of the English, with the burnings and devastations of the Gordon Riots — an event which provided the terms that would be used in the first accounts of the French Revolution in 1789" (134). Although I have not discovered any literature connecting Gordon's "revolutionary" activity with his subsequent Jewish conversion, its existence would not be surprising given the association between Jews and Revolution which was popular in Britain at this time.

Chapter Three

I. The German Schauerroman:

Johann Friedrich von Schiller's The Ghost-Seer, or Apparitionist

In addition to particular turns of events and character types, German romantic narrative generally brought more explicit eroticism and violence to the realm of the English Gothic. (Kiely 100)

British Gothic literature's cabalistic semiotics and its increasingly demonic Wandering Jew figure were not entirely home-grown products. The idea that secret societies and secret sciences were spectres haunting Europe was also disseminated by way of the German Terror-novel, otherwise known as the Schauerroman. Between 1794 and 1796, translations of several German Schauerroman treating the subject of secret societies became known in England. Four of the most important were Johann Friedrich von Schiller's The Ghost-Seer, or Apparitionist, Cajetan Tschink's Victim of Magical Delusions, or the Mystery of the Revolution in P——l, a magico-political tale, Marquis Grosse's Genius, and Benedicte Naubert's Herman of Unna.¹ The genesis of this fictional genre in Germany was not surprising given Frederick the Great's tolerance towards secret societies during his reign as the King of Prussia (1740-1786). His support stood in stark contrast to the tyranny of other governments. As a result, Germany "seethed with societies, where prophets appeared who practised animal magnetism, professed to raise the dead, or to live a thousand years upon a tea" (Tompkins 283). While J.M.S. Tompkins characterizes Germany as "a fruitful bed for these fantastic ideas", she points out that "even in England, where elemental spirits and natural magic were not taken very seriously, the disturbed atmosphere of the revolutionary period caused the idea of a grand political conspiracy to take root, though in shallow soil" (282-3).

The German Schauerroman's popular secret society theme with its focus on politics and magic also appealed to Western Europe (281) where "great changes were in progress,

and men of liberal sympathies and men tenacious of ancient forms of life were alike prone to see something monstrous and abnormal in each other's activities" (282-3). Tompkins argues that the pattern this theme generally assumed was based on Schiller's The Ghost-Seer (1788) where a mysterious yet attractive man turns out to be an associate of a secret society (281). In the first English translation of Schiller's fragmentary prose romance published in 1795 the mysterious stranger is ultimately revealed to be an associate of the Holy Inquisition, an institution which is figured as a type of conspiratorial secret society engaged in the sinister activity of covertly converting influential people to Roman Catholicism.²

As I will illustrate in this chapter, Schiller's The Ghost-Seer incorporates various narrative elements which later become critical to the construction of the vampiric Wandering Jew in British Gothic fiction. These ingredients include the metaphor of vampirism/parasitism, the themes of imposture, conspiracy, and conversion, a secret society, a religious Inquisition, and a mysterious, ageless, accursed wanderer. With an eye to the various configurations of these elements, I will trace the Wandering Jew's development into an increasingly demonic, secular, and ethnically-affiliated figure who attempts to convert or "Judaize" upstanding Christians. It is extremely significant that the Wandering Jew's make-up in both British Gothic literature and the German Schauerroman is progressively sinister and that this alteration is concurrent with the intensifying debates over the Jewish Question in both countries. Indeed, as Paul Lawrence Rose has expounded, the Wandering Jew had become an emblem for the Jewish Question in Germany by the early nineteenth century (27). According to Rose, this new emblematic role transformed the Wandering Jew from a predominantly religious figure into a secular figure associated with liberation, revolution, and redemption. Generalizing about the Wandering Jew's significance in Europe, Rose states:

Between 1770 and 1850, Ahasverus emerged as a powerful myth of Promethean revolutionism, and a major topos in non-Christian romantic

literature and humanist philosophy alike. Ahasverus was transformed from theological legend into secular vision of human liberation and revolutionary redemption. He even lost for a time his Jewish significance. Shelley celebrated him as a new Prometheus in messianic revolt against political and religious tyranny. (25)

Although it is true that British Romantic poets like Shelley usually rendered the legend of the Wandering Jew as an intensely personal myth that articulated the “perpetual cycle of guilt and suffering” essential to the human condition (Bloom 1961: 207) — a treatment of the Wandering Jew that is also found in German literature in poetry by such writers as Christian Friedrich Daniel Schubart (Anderson 172-3) and Heinrich Heine (Rose 158-70) — such representations existed alongside the increasingly negative representations of the Wandering Jew in Gothic literature. In what may be described as the battle over the Wandering Jew's meaning, the negative, ethnically-affiliated version eventually wins out. Although George K. Anderson fails to recognize that this shift occurred in Germany as a result of the Wandering Jew's association with the Jewish Question, he notes that beginning especially in the 1820s, students of this legend — even those of a more Romantic persuasion — more and more frequently portrayed this character as “another Cain or Satan”. For these writers, Anderson argues, the Wandering Jew's “conversion ... was an unconvincing business” (199). As Rose articulates, the debate over Jewish assimilation in Germany focused on whether or not Jews could abandon their national immoral character. The Jews, Rose states, “lost by both sides”:

The offer of rights was poisoned by the condition that they effectively cease to be Jews and become “real Germans,” a notion that may have been clothed in practical political language but which was curiously mystical for all that. In the end, therefore, the very premise of the emancipation debate turned out to be profoundly anti-Jewish. (31)

Focusing my literary critical lenses on British Gothic literature, I am arguing that the Wandering Jew also became emblematic of the Jewish Question in Britain beginning in the late-eighteenth century. This figure's religious/moral conversion was not only regarded as an unconvincing business in Britain, Britons' worst nightmares about Jewish conversion assumed flesh and blood in the genre of Gothic literature where the Jew was represented as a spectral, seductive, and bloodthirsty proselytizer in league with the devil. While this immortal wanderer's Judaization threat always implies religious/cultural conversion, it is variously tenored in each work under examination. Godwin depicts Judaization as a predominantly economic threat, while Maturin represents it as a physical or sexual danger that may even generate castration anxiety. Bram Stoker manages, quite brilliantly, to combine these components of the Judaization threat in Dracula as his alien Wandering Jew vampire simultaneously endangers both the health of individual British bodies and that of the British national body politic. As I will argue at the end of this chapter, Count Dracula is only made possible, however, thanks to Joseph Sheridan Le Fanu's Carmilla. Although Le Fanu's wanderer may make but a cameo appearance, he signals a crucial shift from a metaphorically vampiric Wandering Jew to an actual Wandering Jew vampire.

I begin with a brief examination of Schiller's cryptic, incomplete novel The Ghost-Seer which is vital to the genesis of the vampiric Wandering Jew who threatens Britain with Judaization. Set in Venice against the backdrop of the Holy Inquisition (which was, like the Spanish Inquisition, engaged in ferreting out heretics), and narrated in a fragmented format by way of excerpts from journals and letters written by one Count O— and his friend, Baron von F—, The Ghost-Seer chronicles the seductive conversion of their beloved associate, a wealthy, unnamed ^{Protestant} Prince, to Roman Catholicism. Enamoured by Venetian life, this young royal (who, we are expressly told, has never been a Freemason (6)) becomes the victim of a conspiracy masterminded by the Holy Inquisition. Undertaken with the hope that the Prince will “subsequently disseminate Roman

Catholicism among his subjects" (232-3), this conspiracy involves a charlatan Sicilian engaged with "occult sciences" (118) and a Roman Catholic priest disguised as a wandering Armenian. After a long process during which the Prince becomes convinced of the authenticity of the Armenian's supernatural nature and abilities, and he falls in love with a beautiful young woman who forms part of the conspiracy, the young Prince converts to Roman Catholicism. After his failed attempts to murder the man who bars his ascent to the throne, the young Prince is poisoned by the conspiratorial Wandering Armenian and the charlatan Sicilian. In this blatantly anti-Catholic novel, the young Protestant Prince dies "in the bitterest agonies of contrition and remorse" (242).

The theme of secrecy shrouds The Ghost-Seer. Venice, the city in which the tale is set, subsequently became a popular locale in British Gothic literature. Associated with secrecy and gambling, this "labyrinthine deathly city of alienated desire" (Coates 1), is, as Tony Tanner suggests, the Gothic city par excellence. Tanner describes it as follows:

... in addition to being a powerful and enormously rich republic, Venice was effectively a police state with its notorious secret tribunals (the Council of Ten, the Council of Three); the fact of its famous masquerades and carnivals (six months of the year were carnival time by the eighteenth century); the fact of its labyrinthine little streets and canals and endless bridges; the uncanny silence of its gliding traffic; the supposed "super-subtlety" of its agents and citizens — all these attributes composed an easily available scenario or imaginary topography for writers from afar. Watery, dark, silent; a place of sensuality and secrecy; masks and masquerading; duplicity and desire; an always possible treacherous beauty; Othello and Shylock (and why did Shakespeare set his two plays with figures from marginalized groups — a black, a Jew — as protagonists, in Venice?); Volpone and greed; conspiracy and courtesans in Otway's Venice Preserved — all these associations made Venice an obvious setting for Gothic novels

such as The Mysteries of Udolpho (Ann Radcliffe never visited Venice, but that is just the point — there is a “Venice” compounded of just such reiterated association always to hand) and “Monk” Lewis’s The Bravo of Venice. (5)

Given these resonances, both Shylock and Gothic literature’s Wandering Jew are comfortably at home in Venice. Paul Coates concurs, arguing that Venice is associated with key Gothic themes such as conspiracy and identity politics. He maintains that “one of the forms of the uncanny world of conspiracy is the Venetian Carnival ... [during which] faces became masks” (1). Ann Radcliffe’s The Mysteries of Udolpho (1794) will also capitalize on Venice’s association with secrecy and terror: her protagonist Emily is removed to Venice where she essentially becomes a prisoner of her Aunt’s treacherous husband Montoni, and Emily’s persistent suitor, Count Morano, is later imprisoned in “one of those secret prisons, which were the terror of the Venetians” (423).

Schiller’s prophetic Armenian in The Ghost-Seer makes his entry in the English translation of 1795 on the streets of Venice where he ominously informs the young Prince of the upcoming death of his cousin. This gloomy, masked figure is linked with the supernatural world and is present during two revelatory scenes involving the raising of the dead, acts he undertakes in order to establish his reputation as one who unmasks other occult-dabbling impostors. While in one instance he exposes a fratricide (130-85), in the other, he brings his Sicilian co-conspirator who is engaged in cabalistic “occult sciences” to justice (71-75). Disguised in both compelling sequences, the Armenian assumes the role of a truth-seeker with actual supernatural powers and a transfixing gaze who despises, and even revels in denouncing, fraudulent occult performances.

Believed to be modelled on the Wandering Jew-like Cagliostro (Birkhead 51), Schiller’s elusive wanderer is not explicitly deemed to be a Jew. According to George K. Anderson and Eino Railo, however, Schiller’s Wandering Armenian seems to have been adapted from the Wandering Jew described in Matthew Paris’s thirteenth-century Chronica

majora which was first published in English in the early seventeenth century (Anderson 61).³ Not only is Schiller's Wandering Armenian associated with the Wandering Jew through his peripatetic habit, he is of the same national background as the "eyewitness" Armenian Bishop who relates the tale of the Wandering Jew in Paris's famous account. Another prominent and intriguing connection with Paris's Armenian Bishop lies in the fact that Schiller's Wandering Armenian is ultimately revealed to be a high-ranking Catholic official. As I will illustrate, Schiller's act of linking the supernatural pseudo-Wandering Jew with the conspiratorial Roman Catholic priest is important to Lewis's and Maturin's subsequent portraits of the Wandering Jew. Both groups — Catholics and Jews — are vital to the theme of religious inheritance in The Monk and Melmoth the Wanderer where they are depicted as the barbarian religious forefathers of enlightened Anglicans and Protestants.

It is the Sicilian charlatan — a man repeatedly described as a "Conjurer" (73) and a "Juggler" (70) — who is instrumental in forging the connection between the mysterious wandering Armenian and his legendary counterpart, the Wandering Jew. He recounts various eyewitness reports that suggest that the Armenian possesses eternal youth (119) and other supernatural abilities. For example, several people claim to have seen the Armenian in various guises in different parts of the world at the same time (119-120). Curiously, Schiller's deceptive, gold-hungry Sicilian is also closely affiliated with the stereotype of the secret-society Jew in The Ghost-Seer. When searched after his arrest, he is found to be in possession of a variety of alchemical materials. He is also found to be carrying "a rosary, a Jew's beard, a dagger, and a brace of pocket pistols" (80). His love of cabalistic "occult sciences" (131), a deceptive "art" he exploits for material gain (he wins gold from skeptics), and the fact that his friends are "zealous admirer[s] of the Cabala" (131) further establish the Sicilian's connection with the demonic religion of Judaism.

As the invidious, conspiratorial Holy Inquisition also leads the Prince away from Protestantism and into sinful crime, Schiller suggests that Roman Catholicism is yet

another demonic secret society obsessed with powermongering and engaged with the occult sciences. Schiller further implies that the Catholic conspirators are parasites who prey on innocent victims: while the Sicilian is a parasitic magician who exploits the spiritual needs and fears of innocent, gullible people, the Roman Catholic priest disguised as the Wandering Armenian preys, with the hope of material gain, on the naive young Prince. This parasite motif is a cognate of the vampire theme which subsequently becomes central to the representation of the Wandering Jew in British Gothic literature. Indeed, vampirism is actually cryptically alluded to in Schiller's novel in relation to the Wandering Armenian. Addressing the curious Prince and his friends, the Sicilian provides a detailed description of the single limitation placed upon this mysterious man. This restriction suggests the presence of some vampiric force:

“Of the twenty-four hours in the day, there is only one which he cannot command; during which no person ever saw him, and during which he never was employed in any terrestrial occupation.... When the clock strikes twelve, he at that moment ceases to belong to the living. In whatever place he is, he must immediately be gone; whatever business he is engaged in, he must instantly leave it. The terrible sound of the hour of midnight tears him from the arms of friendship, wrests him from the altar, and would drag him away even in the agonies of death. Whither he then goes, or what he is then engaged in, is a secret to every one. No person ventures to interrogate, still less to follow him. His features, at this dreadful hour, contract a degree of gravity so gloomy, and so terrifying, that no person has courage sufficient to look him in his face, or to speak a word to him. However lively the conversation may have been, a dead silence immediately succeeds it, and all around him wait for his return in an awful horror, without venturing to quit their seats, or to open the door through which he has passed.”

“Does nothing extraordinary appear in his person when he returns?” —

“Nothing, except that he seems pale and languid, nearly in the state of a man who has just suffered a painful operation, or received disastrous intelligence. Some pretend to have seen drops of blood on his linen, but with what degree of veracity I cannot affirm.”

“Did no person ever attempt to conceal the approach of this hour from him, or endeavour to engage him in such diversions, as might make him forget it?”

“Once only, it is said he passed his time. The company was numerous and remained together late in the night. All the clocks and watches were purposely set wrong, and the warmth of conversation hurried him away. When the fatal moment arrived, he suddenly became silent, and motionless; his limbs continued in the position in which this instant had arrested them; his eyes were fixed; his pulse ceased to beat. All the means employed to awake him proved fruitless, and this situation endured till the hour had elapsed. He then revived on a sudden without any assistance, cast up his eyes, and re-assumed his speech with the same syllable as he was pronouncing at the moment of interruption. The general consternation discovered to him what had happened, and he declared, with an awful solemnity, that they ought to think themselves happy in having escaped with no other injury than fear. The same night he quitted for ever the city where this circumstance had occurred.” (120-6)

In his paralysis, paleness, exhaustion, the impression of having “suffered some painful operation”, and the mysterious discovery of “drops of blood on his linen”, the Armenian is depicted as a type of vampire victim. In this state, he appears to be affiliated with the wealthy young Prince who is exploited by metaphoric parasites.

The Sicilian's explanation of the Armenian's unusual midnight hour paralysis further establishes the link between Schiller's Wandering Armenian and the Wandering Jew of legend. According to the Sicilian:

The common opinion is that during this mysterious hour, he converses with his genius. Some even suppose him to be one of the departed, who is allowed to pass twenty-three hours of the day among the living, and that in the twenty-fourth his soul is obliged to return to the infernal regions, to suffer its punishment. Some believe him to be the famous Apollonius of Tyana; and others, the disciple of John, of whom it is said — he shall remain until the last judgment. (126-7)

This conjecture about the Wandering Armenian's true identity offers two opposite possibilities with different connotations. While Apollonius of Tyana is a wandering philosopher and secret science adept who is believed to be the “Master of the Rosicrucians” (Brewer 55)⁴ and later becomes “known mainly as an antichrist” (Wilson 197)⁵, Christ's beloved disciple St. John the Apostle is believed to be tarrying until Christ's return. In the light of these widely divergent alternatives, the Wandering Armenian is an ambivalent, undead figure similar to the eternally accursed Wandering Jew of legend.

While The Ghost-Seer does not explicitly identify the Wandering Armenian as Apollonius of Tyana, their similarity is substantiated by the Wandering Armenian's abilities. Brewer's Dictionary of Phrase and Fable describes Apollonius as the “Master of the Rosicrucians... [who] is said to have had the power of raising the dead, of making himself invisible, and of being in two places at the same time” (55). Like Apollonius, the Wandering Armenian exhibits his ability to raise the dead in The Ghost-Seer and, as the Sicilian relates, “There are several creditable persons, who remember having seen him, each at the same time, in different parts of the globe” (119-120). Given these uncanny resemblances, Schiller seems to have drawn fairly extensively on tales about Apollonius in the construction of his Wandering Armenian. One particularly famous anecdote about

Apollonius, notably involving a vampire, is also incorporated into Schiller's portrait of the Wandering Armenian. Colin Wilson relates it as follows:

When his friend and disciple Menippus of Corinth introduced him to his (Menippus's) future bride, Apollonius instantly recognized her as a vampire.... Menippus refused to believe his warnings, but Apollonius came to the wedding, and with a few magical passes caused the guests and the feast to vanish — all were illusions conjured up by Lamia — and made the bride admit that she intended to eat Menippus. (197-8)

Apollonius assumes an ambivalent role in this tale: although he helps his friend avoid the fate of becoming a vampire's banquet, his dreaded supernatural association is not negated completely, as it is often demons who recognize their own. The Ghost-Seer features a similar revelatory wedding scene precipitated by the equally ambivalent Wandering Armenian in which a bride discovers on her wedding night that her husband, Lorenzo, has murdered Jeronymo, his brother and her former fiancé, in order to marry her. Raised vampire-like from the dead, "covered with blood, and disfigured with horrible wounds" (183), Jeronymo exposes his brother as a bloodthirsty fratricide, a horrifying revelation which causes all of the wedding guests to lose consciousness. When they later reawaken, Lorenzo makes a private confession and dies (184). The truth of Jeronymo's revelation is subsequently borne out when his skeleton is discovered in a well in a neglected farmyard of his father's villa (185).

In their supernatural abilities to recognize and expose real and figurative vampires, Apollonius and Schiller's Wandering Armenian influence the Wandering Jew's earliest incarnation in British Gothic literature. As I will illustrate in the following section, a Faustian Wandering Jew figure and vampire-detector is featured in Matthew G. Lewis's The Monk. His engagement with the secret sciences is a noteworthy addition to the Wandering Jew of legend. In this preoccupation, Lewis's Wandering Jew may also be said to combine aspects of Schiller's shyster-magician Sicilian. Notably and ironically, the

body parts necessary to the later incarnation of the vampiric Wandering Jew may also be exhumed from Schiller's novel. Indeed, in the complex portrait of his Janus-faced Wandering Armenian/conspiratorial Roman Catholic priest, Schiller forecasts the more treacherous Wandering Jew who will appear in works by Godwin, Maturin, and Stoker. This predatorial and conspiratorial Roman Catholic priest who assumes a disguise in order to achieve his victim's religious conversion is a particularly uncanny prototype of Bram Stoker's vampire proselytizer Count Dracula. Although Count Dracula is an unnatural figure who seems to resemble Schiller's vampire-detector Wandering Armenian who is never seen taking food, approaching a woman, or closing his eyes to sleep (120), Dracula also shares a great deal in common with Schiller's figuratively vampiric priest. In order to chart and assess the Wandering Jew's progressive "fall" from supernatural vampire-detector to figurative vampire and, finally, to actual vampire in the pages of British Gothic literature, I now turn to an examination of the first stage in this legendary wandering immortal's metamorphosis in Matthew G. Lewis's explosive novel, The Monk.

II. Gothic Revelations and Revolutions:

The Case of The Monk

Fenced round with spells, unhurt I venture
 Their sabbath strange where Witches keep;
 Fearless the Sorcerer's circle enter,
 And woundless tread on snakes asleep.
 ("The Gypsy's Song," Lewis 35).

The Wandering Jew makes his memorable cameo début in British Gothic literature in Matthew G. Lewis's sexually-charged, graphic novel The Monk (1795). He appears there as an ambivalent figure, an accursed but crucial exorcist of sexual excess and transgression borne of Catholic repression. The Monk reflects Gothic literature's signature obsession with identity politics. Set in the period of the Spanish Inquisition, The Monk foregrounds the vital Revelation/Revolution theme involving revelations about the past and revolutionary responses to that past, and is labyrinthine in its plot construction. Its primary plot charts the fall of a "Faustian" Monk named Ambrosio, the abbot of the prestigious Capuchin monastery in Madrid, who, under the tutelage of his temptress Matilda, engages in secret sciences (60; 267-271) in order to violate a beautiful young woman named Antonia. When Ambrosio finally sells his soul to the devil in order to evade the Inquisition, Antonia is revealed to be his sister and her mother Elvira (whom he has murdered), his mother. The Monk's series of subsidiary, interconnected subplots also trace a variety of other "familial" transgressions ranging from class intermarriage to incest and parricide.

Lewis's accursed wanderer forms part of a fairly lengthy subplot which was subsequently published as a separate chapbook. It involves two modern, rational young lovers named Raymond and Agnes whose story calls modernity and rationalism into question. Intricate Gothic plotters in their own right, they wed their mockery of "superstitious" beliefs with a defiance of parental authority. Bound against her will to enter a convent in Madrid due to her dying Mother's "fatal vow" (133) during pregnancy to

dedicate her child to the service of St. Clare (130-1), the sixteen-year-old Agnes plots to defy her dead Mother's "grossest superstition" (130) by way of manipulating another established superstition connected with her home, the Castle Lindenberg in Bavaria, where she lives with her aunt and uncle, the Baron and Baroness Lindenberg. The superstition involves a century-old ghost known as the Bleeding Nun who is said to inhabit a "haunted Chamber" in the Castle from which she emerges "on the fifth of May of every fifth year, as soon as the Clock strikes One" and thereafter terrifies her auditors for an hour (141). Raymond's first vision of the Bleeding Nun comes in the form of a sketch executed by Agnes who captures her in all of her sexual excess and subversively unreligious glory:

[She was] a Female of more than human stature, clothed in the habit of some religious order. Her face was veiled; On her arm hung a chaplet of beads; Her dress was in several places stained with blood which trickled from a wound upon her bosom. In one hand She held a Lamp, in the other a large Knife, and She seemed advancing towards the Iron gates of the Hall.
(138)

When the Baroness Lindenberg, who is also enamoured of the visiting Raymond, discovers that he is in love with her niece, she arranges for Agnes's immediate removal to Madrid. In desperation, the young lovers plot Agnes's escape. As it just happens to be the fifth of May of the fifth year, Agnes cunningly decides to impersonate the Bleeding Nun and meet Raymond in a carriage near the Castle gate. At the appointed time the two meet but, after a dramatic escape and carriage accident during a ferocious tempest which leaves Raymond badly injured, "Agnes" disappears and Raymond is taken to an Inn for recovery. At one o'clock the next morning, Raymond discovers that he has actually eloped with the legendary Bleeding Nun, whom he describes as "an animated Cor[p]se":

Her countenance was long and haggard; Her cheeks and lips were bloodless; The paleness of death was spread over her features, and her eye-balls fixed stedfastly upon me were lustreless and hollow.... The Apparition

seated herself opposite to me at the foot of the Bed, and was silent. Her eyes were fixed earnestly upon mine: They seemed endowed with the property of the Rattle-snake's, for I strove in vain to look off her. My eyes were fascinated, and I had not the power of withdrawing them from the Spectre's. (160)

Raymond subsequently becomes "the prey of habitual melancholy" and, after several months of these horrifying nocturnal visits, is "so faint, spiritless, and emaciated, that ... [he is unable to] cross the room without assistance" (163).

It is at this extremely desperate juncture that the Wandering Jew enters the novel in order to help the dejected and dying Raymond regain life by exorcizing his assailant. At least one critic has argued that the Bleeding Nun is a vampire (Anderson 178)⁶; Lewis's Wandering Jew might also be imagined as a vampire hunter similar to Schiller's Apollonius-like Wandering Armenian. Raymond's first account of the Wandering Jew may derive from his servant Theodore, but it is resonant of various passages from Schiller's The Ghost-Seer. Indeed, Lewis's Wanderer is a fascinating conflation of Schiller's Wandering Armenian and magician Sicilian:

By his accent He is supposed to be a Foreigner, but of what Country nobody can tell. He seemed to have no acquaintance in the Town, spoke very seldom, and never was seen to smile. He had neither Servants or Baggage; But his Purse seemed well-furnished, and He did much good in the Town. Some supposed him to be an Arabian Astrologer, Others to be a Travelling Mountebank, and many declared that He was Doctor Faustus, whom the Devil had sent back to Germany. (167)

Raymond subsequently discovers the incredible extent of the mournful Wandering Jew's life and experiences:

He named People who had ceased to exist for many Centuries, and yet with whom He appeared to have been personally acquainted. I could not

mention a Country however distant which He had not visited, nor could I sufficiently admire the extent, and variety of his information. (169)

In his overbearing gloom and the paradoxical feelings he inspires in Raymond, Lewis's Wandering Jew also anticipates Stoker's "malignant and saturnine" Count in his undead state (24):

He was a Man of majestic presence: His countenance was strongly marked, and his eyes were large, black, and sparkling: Yet there was something in his look, which the moment I saw him, inspired me with a secret awe, not to say horror. He was drest plainly, his hair was unpowdered, and a band of black velvet which encircled his fore-head, spread over his features an additional gloom. His countenance wore the marks of profound melancholy; his step was slow, and his manner grave, stately, and solemn. (168)

Despite the fact that his good motives are made explicit to Raymond — "the Stranger," as he is called, informs Raymond that "amidst all the sorrows which oppress me, to think that I have been of use to you, is some consolation" (176) — a certain malice lurks in his face. As Raymond describes it, "There was in his eyes an expression of fury, despair, and malevolence, that struck horror to my very soul" (170). Like Schiller's dreaded, supernatural Wandering Armenian, Lewis's Wandering Jew epitomizes ambivalence.

Apart from being afflicted with the singular curse of inspiring "all who look[ed] on ... [him] with terror and detestation" (170) and being an outcast, friendless Monster (169), this Wandering Jew carries a devastatingly burdensome cross. True to tradition, he is physically inscribed with a mark of Cain. His, however, is in the very distinct form of "a burning Cross impressed upon his brow" (172). With the aid of this singular mark, his mesmerizing eyes, and a small chest replete with instruments of sorcery ranging from a small wooden crucifix and a Bible, to a goblet actually containing Christ's blood, this wanderer performs his role as the exorcist of the Bleeding Nun who, as Raymond

discovers, is a restless ghost from his own past who symbolizes a variety of taboos. Known in her lifetime as Beatrice, the Bleeding Nun is revealed to be the great-Aunt of Raymond's grandfather who was involved, a century earlier, with two of Agnes's ancestors (173). After being placed in a convent against her will, the Bleeding Nun escaped for the sake of her love for the Baron Lindenberg. As in the case of Ambrosio, this "fall" was the first on the slippery slope of depravity. She subsequently became a lover of the Baron's younger brother Otto, then murdered the Baron, and was thereafter killed by Otto. The Bleeding Nun's excesses were, Lewis illustrates, the result of repressed desire, of sexuality being unnaturally cloistered and rendered perverse and aggressive.

In a genre rife with what Maggie Kilgour calls "incestuous narratives" (155), the Bleeding Nun's tale functions as the "incestuous narrative" *par excellence* as it involves both Raymond's and Agnes's ancestors and clearly mirrors their elopement tale. This mirroring is most explicitly suggested in the fact that Agnes and the Bleeding Nun become interchangeable figures in Raymond's mind during his illness (161). In this capacity, the Bleeding Nun's tale serves a monitory function, warning against transgression in general and sexual excess in particular. While Raymond does not entirely heed the warning as he later engages in sexual intercourse with Agnes prior to marriage, both pay for this transgression. Fortunately, they do not follow the example of the Bleeding Nun and Ambrosio whose sins multiply. Furthermore, Raymond exhibits his difference from the novel's unrepentant transgressors as he helps redress the sins of the past involving his and Agnes's ancestors. As *The Monk* illustrates, the sins of the fathers may be visited upon the sons and daughters, but they are not necessarily doomed to repeat them. Moral revolutions do occur and cycles may be broken.

The figure of the Wandering Jew is exceptionally interesting within this subplot. Indeed, the image of a repentant Jew exorcizing a lapsed Catholic Nun is intriguing in the work of a British Anglican (lapsed or not). In that his mesmerizing abilities are similar to

the Bleeding Nun's, and that he repents his transgression against Christ (how else could he successfully employ the power of the Cross unless he has converted in his heart?), the Wandering Jew is the ideal exorcist. Who better to exorcize a woman guilty of the crimes of parricide and pseudo-incest than a repentant Christian convert and member of a group to whom these taboos are traditionally ascribed? In this significant allegorical scene where the Wandering Jew and the lapsed Catholic Nun are positioned as doppelgänger sinners, Lewis suggests a connection between Jews and Catholics, the tyrannical, parricidal religious forefathers of Anglicans. This association is similar to that established in Schiller's The Ghost-Seer in the complex figure of the Wandering Armenian/Roman Catholic priest.

Lewis's different treatments of Judaism and Catholicism, the mixed religious inheritances of Anglicanism that haunt The Monk, are telling. Although Lewis's novel highlights the grotesque, Gothic underbelly of an apparently righteous Catholic Church — an institution whose doctrine of repression is shown to create monsters — the Bleeding Nun may be exorcised by the Wandering Jew. Her spiritual peace, however, is unavailable to her exorcist. The Wandering Jew may be a spiritually-enlightened Christian convert whose transformation from the status of depraved sinner provides evidence of the merciful and righteous nature of Christianity (read Anglicanism), but his Jewish sins still cling to him. Indeed, the reader is reminded that the evils of Judaism are unequalled in history. In his representation of a Wandering Jew who mysteriously disappears with his sins unexorcized after a brief and cryptic cameo role, Lewis suggests that the Wandering Jew's crime of condemning Christ to Crucifixion is so formidable that it may only be pardoned by Christ at the Millennium.

In case the idea of Judaism's unequalled sins is lost on the reader, Lewis presents a Jewish character in The Monk who offers an especially significant reminder that Judaism is demonic and Mammon-obsessed. The only other Jewish character in this novel is the materialistic merchant who sells Ambrosio the Madonna portrait which precipitates his downfall. Although Matilda informs Ambrosio that she sat for the painting and then had

her "Emissary," the Jew, bring it to the monastery (81), the reader later discovers that Matilda is actually Lucifer's accomplice. While Lucifer, in his final revelatory statements to Ambrosio does not mention that he had the portrait purposely sent to Ambrosio — in fact, Lucifer only says that he "observed ... [Ambrosio's] idolatry of the Madon[n]a's picture ... [and] had a subordinate but crafty spirit assume a similar form in order to capture Ambrosio's attention" (440) — this does not discount the fact that the portrait functions as the crucial medium through which Lucifer commences his demonic handiwork. Despite the fact that the Jew might not actually have been Lucifer's Emissary, he is nonetheless instrumental in Ambrosio's fall. He functions as the middleman between the devil and his victims.

Lewis's Wandering Jew functions primarily as a spiritual figure employed to address the related issues of Christian religious history and paternity. Although his connection with the supernatural is not novel, his magician-style paraphernalia is. In this aspect he assumes the stereotypical role of the Jewish charlatan magician.⁷ The Wandering Jew is also implicated, therefore, in *The Monk's* central theme which foregrounds the disjunction between righteous appearances and sinister covert realities. Lewis's wandering "Fugitive" is far removed from his traditional legendary counterpart who is generally figured as anti-materialistic, abstemious, and penniless — when he is given groats, he says, he immediately gives them away to the poor (Anderson 117).⁸ Lewis's Wandering Jew may effect benevolent ends with his "well-furnished" Purse — we are told that "He did much good in the Town" with it — but the origin of this wealth, however, is tainted in the references to Arabian Astrologers, Travelling Mountebanks, the Devil, and Doctor Faustus (167). Converted Jews may never, Lewis's portrait suggests, entirely divest themselves of their morally-tainted origins.

At this stage in his development, the Wandering Jew is not the vampiric, conspiratorial, and depraved figure of sexual excess portrayed by Bram Stoker. In fact, in Lewis's story the Wandering Jew anticipates the vampire-hunting Van Helsing for he is an

Apollonius-style exorcist of sexual excess who alone is capable of “drying up” both Raymond's blood and that of the Bleeding Nun (167). The Wandering Jew has, however, taken his first decisive step on the slippery slope of degradation. In William Godwin's St. Leon, published only four years later, he falls significantly further.

III. Protestantism's Gothic House of Mirrors:

The Gospel According to St. Godwin⁹

Look up! look up! O citizen of London, enlarge thy countenance! O Jew, leave counting gold! return to thy oil and wine. O African! black African! Go; winged thought, widen his forehead! (Blake 71)

The world knows no great deal of me: I do not deny but my monies may roll a little, but for myself, I do not roll at all. I live sparingly and labor hard, therefore, I am called a miser — I cannot help it — an uncharitable dog, I must endure it — a blood-sucker, an extortioner, a Shylock — hard names, ... but what can a poor Jew say in return, if a Christian chuses to abuse him? (Cumberland 6)

Good Jew or bad, rich Jew or poor, tyrant or slave, money was almost bound to be at the root of his problem. (Rosenberg 262)

In Lewis's The Monk, the Wandering Jew is primarily a religious figure who is crucial to Protestantism's attempts to define the relationship with its own paternity. In Godwin's St. Leon (1799), however, the Wandering Jew is presented as an ethno-religious figure who speaks to pressing contemporary religious, political, and especially, economic matters. As Maggie Kilgour has insightfully noted about Godwin's experiments within the Gothic genre, it is there that he "extends the Protestant tradition of self-scrutiny into a critique of Protestant bourgeois values" (11). Kilgour specifically foregrounds Godwin's concern with unchecked individualism and notes that he is working within a tradition which will extend to Stoker's Dracula:

The location of authority within the individual, rather than in external systems, is suspected of leading to rampant and anti-social individualism, as is most clearly shown in satires of religious enthusiasm and non-conformity, such as Hogg's and Brockden Brown's. The gothic villain is frequently an example of the modern materialistic individual taken to an extreme, at which he becomes an egotistical and wilful threat to social unity

and order: even Dracula, who is obviously a holdover from a foreign past, is, as Harker notes with admiration, a good modern businessman, who “would have made a wonderful solicitor.” (11-12)

I will build on Kilgour’s comments in this chapter to suggest that Godwin’s foremost cautionary warning in St. Leon involves what he perceives to be Britain’s increasing Judaization at the eighteenth-century fin de siècle. Godwin implies that in its extreme aspect as hyper-capitalist, industrialist, and materialist, bourgeois Protestant Britain is being converted to values that are stereotypically associated with Jews. As such, the British nation has figuratively sold its soul and willingly embraced demonic, anti-Christian, and anti-family values. In the figure of St. Leon, his eponymous and ambiguous protagonist, Godwin portrays the unchecked individualist/scientist as a vampiric Wandering Jew who is “suffered, with accursed and unnatural appetite, to feed on the vitals” of his loving family and countrymen (114).¹⁰ Godwin’s graphic representations of avarice as a type of poison that infects individual British bodies and the national body politic (130), and as a form of parasitism where “a secret worm gnaw[s] at ... [one’s] vitals” (448), anticipate Bram Stoker’s Dracula. As I will illustrate in the following Chapter, Count Dracula threatens to Judaize Britain by way of vampirism. This infectious disease endangers the health of individual Britons and the national body politic for it represents both the threat of syphilis infection and “reverse colonization” (Arata 623) or imperialism (Brantlinger 233-4).

In this section I will show further how St. Leon anticipates Count Dracula in two ways. First of all, they are both Faustian figures. While Stoker suggests that Count Dracula may have exchanged his soul for the knowledge he obtained from the devil at the Scholomance (302)¹¹, St. Leon exchanges his soul for knowledge of “the great secret of nature, the opus magnum, in its two grand and inseparable branches, the art of multiplying gold, and of defying the inroads of infirmity and death” (1). Secondly, Count Dracula and St. Leon are eth(n)ically affiliated as both are figured as vampiric Wandering Jews. While,

as I will discuss, distinctions exist between them in terms of the degree of their immorality and the nature of their vampirism — St. Leon is a figurative vampire while Dracula is an actual vampire — Godwin's creation of a parasitic, loveless, and materialist Wandering Jew helps make Stoker's Count Dracula possible.

Godwin was probably the most culturally, historically, and politically aware Gothic novelist of his age. He was knowledgeable about the Gothic tradition and was acquainted with the Wandering Jew's various literary incarnations. He had read both Schiller's The Ghost-Seer and Lewis's The Monk prior to writing St. Leon (Clemit 1994: x, n.16), a variety of other Schauerroman, and Ann Radcliffe's The Italian (Kelly 1976: 118). In terms of his political activities, Godwin was present at the famous lecture at the Old Jewry Chapel on 4 November 1789 given to the Revolutionary Society by the political radical and Dissenter Richard Price (Godwin 1793: 10). He had also read the conspiracy theories of Barruel and Robison while preparing for St. Leon (Clemit 1994: xix) and, as I will illustrate, he appears to have been fairly well-versed in the history of alchemical science and its cabalistic connections. Godwin channels all of this knowledge into St. Leon, a novel set against the backdrop of the sixteenth-century religious wars, in order to condemn the prevalent British values of the 1790s. In Godwin's own unique brand of demonic semiotics, the new modern age is, for all intents and purposes, "Jewish" in its preoccupations. Indeed, St. Leon's spiritual regression mirrors the historical shift from an age of honour and chivalry to a new, modern age characterized by the worship of "craft, dissimulation, corruption, and commerce" (26). As it is the Wandering Jew who provides the tools necessary for survival and success in this age, it is suggested that his co-religionists are naturally at home within it.

Set in the sixteenth century during the Protestant Reformation and while the Spanish Inquisition is still in operation, St. Leon is a novel of ideas. It chronicles the materialistic corruption of Count Reginald de St. Leon, an exiled French nobleman who exchanges the feudal, spiritual values of chivalry and honour, as represented by his heroic

actions with King Francis I at the Field of the Cloth of Gold in 1520 (480, n.4), for a materialist obsession with gold. The first stage in St. Leon's fall involves his addiction to "gaming" (27). St. Leon's family suffers as a result of this all-consuming vice. They starve while their father becomes a figurative vampire who "is suffered, with accursed and unnatural appetite, to feed on the vitals of all ... [he] love[s]" (114). St. Leon preys upon his loving Christian family.

St. Leon however reforms, and for six years he and his family live in a stable "state of peace and tranquility" (124). This changes, however, after the arrival of a mysterious stranger named Signor Francesco Zampieri who hails from Venice (124). True to tradition, Godwin's accursed wanderer possesses a compelling mesmerizing ability coupled with a superhuman/inhuman nature:

His eye-beam sat upon your countenance, and seemed to look through you.

You wished to escape from its penetrating power, but you had not the strength to move. I began to feel as if it were some mysterious and superior being in human form, and not a mortal, with whom I was concerned. (136)

Like the traditional Wandering Jew of legend and Lewis's literary Wandering Jew, Godwin's Zampieri has known people long since dead and been an eye-witness at crucial historic events which transpired over a century before (141).

St. Leon subsequently exchanges his soul for the elixir vitae and the secret science recipe for "multiplying gold" (160). The traditional legend of the Wandering Jew is thus abrogated in this exchange as "Zampieri" actually dies off after relating his secrets to St. Leon. Godwin suggests that St. Leon's act of exchanging his soul for the secrets of alchemical conversion and the ability to make endless amounts of gold involves his conversion along religious and ethical lines. A once moral Christian is transformed into an immoral Jew. Moreover, St. Leon assumes the mantle of the Wandering Jew in this instance and, as such, he epitomizes moral accursedness in the Christian worldview. St. Leon's transformation into a Mammon-obsessed monster, however, is tragically forecast in

the countenance of the Wandering Jew whose fate, by way of their secret compact, he effectively assumes. St. Leon is confronted with his own fateful future in his initial reading of the Wandering Jew's countenance: "Ruined and squalid as he appeared, I thought I could perceive traces in his countenance of what had formerly been daring enterprise, profound meditation, and generous humanity" (124). St. Leon tragically perceives the Wandering Jew's radical transformation from mor(t)al to immor(t)al capitalist.

In the light of the Wandering Jew's assumed name — Zampieri — and a subsequent episode featuring a New Christian, Godwin implies that the Wandering Jew was once a Christian who was duped, like St. Leon, into exchanging fates with the man who may perhaps have been the actual Wandering Jew of legend. "Zampieri" carried with it strong Christian associations as it was the surname of the artist who came to be known as Domenichino (1581-1641). He was not only a famous painter of Christian subjects and the chief Vatican architect, but a painter of landscapes that were often invoked in Gothic literature.¹² In further support of the speculation that Godwin's "Zampieri" was a Christian who was converted to Judaism, St. Leon recounts a significant encounter with a New Christian named Mordecai who helps St. Leon escape the Inquisition. According to St. Leon, Mordecai's countenance betrays the fact that he is a New Christian:

I perceived, by certain indications in the countenance of my host, that he was by parentage a Jew. I presently concluded, that he was what in Spain they denominate a new Christian; for that otherwise he would not have been allowed to reside at large in a Spanish city. But, upon that supposition, I did not believe that Christianity was very deeply mingled up in him with the vital principle: the converts of the inquisition are not conspicuous for their sincerity. (342)

In this ironic and complex scene, St. Leon articulates the traditional Christian view — and fear — that Jews may never actually convert to the Christian faith. This seems to be an

unusual comment given St. Leon's position as a formerly Christian man who figuratively converts to Judaism. While St. Leon may be implying that he has not truly converted himself, the traditional Christian view regarding conversion to Judaism was that it was irrevocable and irreversible.

True to his self-delusive nature, St. Leon remains blind to his association with Mordecai in this episode. Anti-Semitic stereotypes abound as Godwin forges a decisive link between the Wandering Jew and his co-religionists. While "Zampieri" describes himself as "Hated by mankind, hunted from the face of the earth, pursued by every atrocious calumny, without a country, without a roof, without a friend" (127), Mordecai laments the general state of the Jewish community saying, "We poor Jews ... [are] hunted on the face of the earth, the abhorrence and execration of mankind" (345). This systematic, longstanding persecution does not prevent St. Leon from threatening to turn Mordecai over to the Inquisition and to kill Mordecai's daughter (344). He reminds Mordecai that it is not in his interest to betray St. Leon as the Inquisitors would not look well on a New Christian. He subsequently offers Mordecai six hundred pistoles as an added inducement. St. Leon's threat achieves its desired effect as he notes, "While I talked to him, I easily perceived that the arguments I used, which produced the most sensible effect upon his features, were those of the dangers arising to him from betraying me, and the reward of six hundred pistoles which I promised him in the event of my success" (343). This episode reinforces the stereotype of the Jew as an avaricious usurer "whose heart is in his bags" (Cumberland 11).

In his narrative treatment of the Spanish Inquisition, an institution which had its origins in Catholic intolerance, Godwin combines a condemnation of the spiritual and economic Judaization of Britain with an indictment of what he suggests is that nation's increasingly intolerant political views. Through comments articulated by his immortal wanderer who has seen much of history due to his unnaturally long life, Godwin suggests that the British persecution of radicals in 1794 (Clemit 1993: 88) and the passing of the

Suspension of Habeas Corpus Act in 1798 (Clemit 1994: xiii) constitute a type of “British Inquisition.” St. Leon states:

... human affairs, like the waves of the ocean, are merely in a state of ebb and flow: “there is nothing new under the sun:” two centuries perhaps after Philip the Second shall be gathered to his ancestors (he died in 1598), men shall learn over again to persecute each other for conscience sake; other anabaptists or levellers shall furnish pretexts for new persecutions; other inquisitors shall arise in the most enlightened tracts of Europe. (338; emphasis added)

This is a laudable and courageous critique for the 1790s as it daringly suggests that political persecution was not limited in Europe to France and the French Revolution. Ironically, Godwin's unsympathetic portraits of the Jews and New Christians who were persecuted by the Spanish Inquisitors detracts from his critique and even aligns him with the Inquisitors he claims to despise. Godwin forges an equation between the vampiric, Mammon-obsessed Jews in St. Leon and the Spanish Inquisitors who are described as “insatiable bloodsuckers” (330). To the latter anti-Catholic image Godwin adds the portrait of a bloodthirsty Charles V (26, 439), the Holy Roman Emperor who was financed by Jewish capital and fought against Protestants during this era of religious wars.¹³ As in Lewis's The Monk, Roman Catholics and Jews are portrayed by Godwin as doppelgänger sinners. In both works, these religious forefathers of Anglicanism/Protestantism are depicted as barbarian and tyrannical.

To enter the text of St. Leon is to enter an uncanny and labyrinthine Gothic house of mirrors populated with bloodthirsty monsters who function as doppelgänger to St. Leon. The question of identity looms large and although St. Leon sometimes recognizes his uncanny resemblance to his various doubles, he also suffers at times from serious self delusion, so that he remains blind to their association with him. Subsequent to forging his secret compact, however, St. Leon does recognize himself as a monster (176, 211) who is

neither human nor moral and has succumbed to the poison of avarice. Lamenting his miserable and isolated fate, he states:

How unhappy the wretch, the monster rather let me say, who is without an equal; who looks through the world, and in the world and cannot find a brother; who is endowed with attributes which no living being participates with him; and who is therefore cut off for ever from all cordiality and confidence, can never unbend himself, but lives the solitary, joyless tenant of a prison, the materials of which are emeralds and rubies! (211)

In another rare moment of self-awareness, St. Leon says of himself, "I still bore the figure and lineaments of a human creature; but I knew that I was not what I seemed" (356). In this monstrous, parasitic capacity, St. Leon is associated both with Bethlem Gabor, an illustrious Hungarian nobleman and soldier who is notorious for his anti-Christian, "sanguinary" exploits (435), and the demonic Spanish Inquisitors who are described in this novel as "insatiable bloodsuckers" (330).

One of Godwin's primary goals in this morality tale about money and the monsters it makes of those who worship it, is to condemn the impact of Jewish greed on Christian domestic ties. St. Leon's devoted wife Marguerite articulates this key theme:

The gift of unbounded wealth, if you possess it, and with wealth, apparently at least, distinction and greatness, is too powerful a temptation.... It destroys that communion of spirit which is the soul of the marriage-tie. A consort should be a human being and an equal. But to this equality and simple humanity it is no longer in your power to return. (209)

The mysterious stranger manages to corrupt St. Leon by separating him from his beloved wife and exhorting him to make a decision without her advice (126). This loveless and egoistic Wandering Jew, therefore, assumes the position in St. Leon as one who threatens the British nation's Christian "family values."

The vow of silence St. Leon makes once he is figuratively converted to the status of Jewish capitalist further removes him from human society. After years of living in this anti-social manner, St. Leon offers one of the novel's most tragic passages which makes the damnable nature of secrecy clear. After the death of his daughter Julia for which he is responsible, St. Leon deems himself "a monster that did not deserve to exist" (363) and denounces his own knowledge of the secret sciences:

Fatal legacy! atrocious secrets of medicine and chemistry! every day opened to my astonished and terrified sight a wider prospect of their wasteful effects! A common degree of penetration might have shown me, that secrets of this character cut off their possessor from the dearest ties of human existence, and render him a solitary, cold, self-centered individual; his heart no longer able to pour itself into the bosom of a mistress or a friend; his bosom no longer qualified to receive upon equal terms the overflowing of a kindred heart. (362-3)

A victim of self-delusion, however, St. Leon long hopes that this knowledge may be beneficial to mankind. Although the Wandering Jew's initial description of this knowledge is clearly geared to appeal to St. Leon's nobler aspect (126), the Wandering Jew later highlights its ambivalent nature when he says that it is both "God-given" and that it "might render its possessor the universal plague or the universal tyrant of mankind" (135). St. Leon, however, chooses to believe in its potential benefits. Despite the fact that the Neapolitan inquisitor who seeks the Wandering Jew prior to his death informs St. Leon that "the welfare of Christendom ... [demands] that the criminal, and the memory of his offences, should be buried together" (147), St. Leon consistently refuses to acknowledge the dangers connected to the mysterious stranger.

St. Leon's tendency to be bedazzled by mysterious, melancholic men is again played out in his fascination with another of his doubles, Bethlem Gabor. Critics have generally described Gabor as "the novel's most Gothic creation" (Lévy 1996: 59) beside

whom “the other characters pale into insignificance” (Birkhead 114).¹⁴ Although St. Leon defends Gabor claiming he suffered a “sanguinary catastrophe” when his entire family had been killed while he was away on a military excursion (400), St. Leon’s son Charles — the Christian voice of moderation and reason — sees only Gabor’s figuratively vampiric, anti-Christian activities. He portrays Gabor as an “intrepid, indefatigable and sanguinary partisan ... [who] had been the author of greater mischiefs to the Christian cause, than any of the immediate servants of the sultan of Constantinople” (435; emphasis added). St. Leon’s own anti-Christian activities are also observed by his estranged son who explains how the “notorious Chatillon” (St. Leon in disguise) is “an infamous impostor, who, by his machinations ... preserved the Turkish provinces of Hungary from being conquered by the Christian arms”. Neither delusive nor demonically possessed by avarice like his father, Charles regards the secret sciences as a Satanically-associated and inspired domain of study. He says of the impostor Chatillon:

The man is moreover a magician, the pretended or real possessor of the philosopher’s stone. He is therefore doubly worthy of death, first as a traitor, the abettor and comforter of the common enemy of the Christian faith, and, secondly, as a dealer in the black art, and a man notoriously sold and delivered over to the devil. (472; emphasis added)

While the Wandering Jew’s claims that his knowledge of the secret sciences is God-given, Charles identifies it with a more sinister source. The figure St. Leon perceives as a “venerable sage” (136) who appeals to his generosity, is considered by Charles to be a diabolic parasite who knows the nature of human weakness and preys on his “generous [Christian] host” (143).

In the introduction to the Oxford edition of St. Leon, Patricia Clemit explains that Godwin “acknowledged as the inspiration for his tale a satirical work entitled Hermippus Redivivus: Or, The Sage’s Triumph Over Old Age and the Grave” which was published in 1744. She hypothesizes, however, that “another of these tales, which Godwin did not

acknowledge, may have supplied the plot and title of St. Leon" (x). Clemit relates the tale as follows:

... [it is] the history of a fourteenth-century Rosicrucian, Nicholas Flamel, ... [which] gives two versions of how he gained his extraordinary wealth. According to some, he learned the secret of the philosopher's stone from a Jewish physician in the Spanish town of St. Leon; according to others, he defrauded Jewish refugees. The moral uncertainty surrounding Flamel's history may have provided the starting-point for Godwin's sceptical analysis of benevolent ideals. (x)

The Jewish connection in this tale and the ambivalence surrounding the knowledge of the philosopher's stone are noteworthy. They hint at the Jewish origins of the alchemical enterprise¹⁵ and the moral ambivalence that was, in fact, attached to this knowledge. Indeed, Godwin's Wandering Jew articulates this ambivalence when he explains its origins as both God-given but potentially demonic depending on the uses to which it is put. I would like to suggest, however, on the basis of an allusion in the novel and the fact that Godwin's knowledge in this domain was far broader than critics to date have credited, that the life story of another significant alchemist lurks in the shadows of Godwin's novel. My theory might also help to explain the novel's title.

Cornelius Agrippa's name is mentioned in St. Leon by a Spaniard during a mini-inquisition of St. Leon. After St. Leon's mysterious wealth draws attention to him, he is pursued by a Spaniard who subjects him to an interrogation. The Spaniard asks if St. Leon knew Cornelius Agrippa who died in Grenoble about twelve years earlier (307). As St. Leon remarks at the beginning of that chapter that nineteen years had elapsed since his marriage to Marguerite de Damville (301) and as they had been married for seven years prior to 1544 when the "Wandering Jew" arrived at their home in Constance (124), exactly twelve years had, in fact, elapsed between the time that St. Leon encountered this mysterious stranger and his conversation with the Spaniard. Cornelius Agrippa, however,

actually died in 1535 — and not 1544 as St. Leon suggests — in Grenoble. Perhaps Godwin's historical source was incorrect or he simply took poetic license and manipulated the dates for his story's sake. Whatever the case, the dates do add up in the novel, lending some credibility to the theory that the Wandering Jew who tempts St. Leon is actually Cornelius Agrippa. However, Agrippa did actually die in Grenoble as the Spaniard states and not in Constance where the mysterious stranger visits St. Leon and passes away. Before his death, the wanderer suggests that his place of burial may not be known for certain: "My name shall be buried with me in the grave; nor shall any one who has hitherto known me, know how, at what time, or on what spot of earth, I shall terminate my existence" (125-6).

These dates and details aside, I am not suggesting that Godwin set out to use the Agrippa story in a historically realistic fashion. It seems instead to be used more tenuously, and it does have other important points of connection with Godwin's novel. One of "the two great occultists of the sixteenth century" (Wilson 233), Agrippa was a persecuted "wandering scholar" (233) whose patron, for a time, was Charles V who is featured in a negative fashion in St. Leon. Agrippa was also "fascinated by the Kabbalah" (235), particularly the Zohar which was written around 1280 by a Spanish Jew, Moses de Leon (233), who, very significantly, shares the same surname as Godwin's eponymous protagonist. It was Agrippa's widely-read treatise On Occult Philosophy (1531), in fact, that "was largely responsible for the mistaken association of the Kabbalah in the Christian world with numerology and witchcraft" ("Kabbalah" 644). As de Leon's Zohar forms the groundwork for Agrippa's philosophy on magical-science, it is conceivable that Godwin adopted the name "Leon" for his protagonist with this association in mind. It would be especially suitable given the strong Jewish-secret science bond forged in Godwin's novel. The combination of the Catholic "St." with "Leon," however, situates this protagonist at the crossroads between Catholicism and Judaism. These warring forces are, in fact, at the core of St. Leon's psychological torment and are also representative of

the legendary Wandering Jew's position as a "convert," the role St. Leon assumes in this novel. In his presentation of an unrepentant, diabolical Wandering Jew, however, Godwin reverses the scenario: St. Leon is a lapsed Christian who becomes a convert to what is figured as a Jewish, Mammon-based religion.

St. Leon's developing attitude towards secret science also parallels Agrippa's. When Agrippa got older, he abandoned magic in favour of theology. In 1530, he published a curious, nihilistic book in Antwerp entitled On the Vanity of Sciences and Arts whose central thesis is that knowledge only brings disillusionment and the recognition of man's fundamental ignorance (Wilson 237-8). Despised by many monks in Europe, Agrippa died a lonely, tragic death. His life, according to Wilson, involved travelling "like the Wandering Jew" (238); curiously, a famous legend relates how Agrippa, like St. Leon, actually encountered this figure in the year 1525. As Wilson recounts, secret sciences were involved in this meeting. The Wandering Jew visited Agrippa in his alchemical laboratory in Florence:

Cartaphilus begged Agrippa to show him his childhood sweetheart in a magic mirror. Agrippa asked him to count off the decades since the girl died so that he could wave his wand for each decade; when the Jew reached 149, Agrippa began to feel dizzy; but the Jew went on numbering them until the mirror showed a scene 1,510 years earlier, in Palestine. The girl, Rebecca, appeared, and the Jew was so moved that he tried to speak to her — which Agrippa had strictly forbidden. The mirror immediately clouded over and the Jew fainted. On reviving, he identified himself as the Jew who struck Jesus when he was carrying the cross, and who has been condemned to walk the earth ever since. (238)

Whether Godwin was actually acquainted with these biographical and apocryphal details or not, the connections between Cornelius Agrippa's life and St. Leon's are uncanny.

Like Lewis in The Monk, Godwin is interested in the issue of paternity and the sins of the fathers being visited upon the sons. Like Lewis also, Godwin suggests that generational cycles may be broken. In a fascinating inversion at St. Leon's conclusion, St. Leon's son Charles, "the gallant chevalier de Damville" (446), who is now older in appearance than St. Leon thanks to the latter's use of the elixir vitae, speaks as a father figure to St. Leon. An honourable and honest Christian man, Charles laments the sixteenth-century religious wars fought amongst Christians across Europe. Addressing St. Leon, Charles states:

Heaven knows how willingly I would have spent my blood for the overthrow of Mahomet and his blasphemous impieties. To me this is not permitted; to you it is. I shall be engaged in the painful scenes of civil contention between Christian and Christian, misguided and inflamed by the human inventions of Luther and of Calvin. (444)

Despite the fact that St. Leon ends his narrative as a weary man who reviles bloody wars and the demonic gold which perpetuates them (446), the suggestion is made that battles with non-Christians remain worth undertaking. As a Wandering Jew figure plagued by the "secret worm [of avarice] gnawing at ... [his] vitals" (448), such a battle remains, for St. Leon, tragically internal. According to St. Leon, however, there are still things "worth living for" (478). Somewhat paradoxically, he is "the [Christian] hero's father" (478). This hero holds out hope for the future in the form of the Christian bourgeois ideals of marriage and family. In the union of Charles and Pandora at St. Leon's conclusion, Godwin presents the restoration of an Edenic Christian past dominated by "family values." It was from such a state that St. Leon fell when he underwent Jewish conversion. In St. Leon's ostracism from society at novel's end, Godwin offers a hopeful tale of social re-conversion to Christian ideals.

IV. Spanish "Works of Blood":

Melmoth the Wanderer

Charles Robert Maturin's Melmoth the Wanderer (1820) relates the tale of the Faustian John Melmoth who sells his soul to the devil in exchange for prolonged life. As a result of dabbling in the secret sciences, he wanders for one hundred and fifty years in search of someone with whom to exchange fates. Melmoth has been accurately described by Mario Praz as "a kind of Wandering Jew crossed with Byronic vampire ('ce pâle et ennuyé Melmoth' Baudelaire called him)" (76). Rather curiously, another tale about the Wandering Jew which was published in 1820, also establishes a connection between that figure and the vampire. John Galt's The Wandering Jew: Or the Travels and Observations of Hareach the Prolonged, pseudonymously published in London, relates the cryptic, Gothic-tenored tale of an unknown traveller — later revealed to be the Wandering Jew — who dies mysteriously and then, vampire-like, abandons his coffin in the middle of the night (Anderson 149). While it is debatable whether Maturin had read this work or not, Galt's tale illustrates how the figures of the vampire and the Wandering Jew were becoming increasingly identified in British literature in the early nineteenth century.

Maturin's contribution to the development of the vampiric Wandering Jew in British Gothic literature is extremely intriguing. Although John Melmoth may be loosely classified as such a figure, he is certainly not Jewish. Moreover, he is a spectral figure projected in the text onto a series of doubles and subplots through which his story is indirectly developed. Maturin's contribution to this figure's evolution is perhaps best illustrated in his representation of several of Melmoth's Jewish doubles. In Volume Three of this "dungeon of a book" (Baldick 1989: xix) set while the Spanish Inquisition is still in operation, the reader is introduced to two Jewish characters named Solomon and Adonijah. In combination, these figures might be described as Count Dracula's literary forefathers: Solomon threatens to enact a novel and bloody form of religious conversion and Adonijah

is a Gothic immortal who resembles the Wandering Jew of legend. Like Lewis in The Monk, Maturin foregrounds the question of Christian religious paternity in his treatment of the Wandering Jew figure. As I will illustrate, however, Maturin is also indebted to Godwin for his treatment of the theme of religious conversion. In Melmoth the Wanderer, that fear is rendered through the figure of a demonic Jew who threatens Judaization by way of circumcision, a ritual practise portrayed as physical violence. Castration anxiety is clearly invoked, therefore, in Maturin's act of sexualizing the Gothic novel's popular spectre of Judaization.

Indeed, a vision of what Leslie Fiedler describes as every Gentile's nightmare surfaces in the novel's preliminary Jewish portrait of a New Christian named Solomon (177). With his "red wolfish eyes" and terrifying "sacrificial knife" (249), Solomon is introduced in the classic crypto-Abraham role as he prepares to circumcise his son to whom he has just confessed that he is actually a Jew and, therefore, a Catholic impostor. A castration fear clearly energizes this sexualized blood libel episode as Alonzo, the terrified unseen onlooker and narrator of the tale, describes Solomon as a type of fiery Old Testament deity enraged by the fact that his New Christian son does not bear the mark of his Jewish faith. The scene is richly described and symbolically loaded: the sorcerer-like Solomon stands beside his Hebrew Bible with a cock fastened to the leg of the table (presumably awaiting ritual slaughter) upon which the instruments necessary to his demonic sorcery lie arranged. Solomon's ethnicity is unmistakable in his stereotyped features. He is described as a "man of middle age, ... whose physiognomy had something peculiar in it, even to the eye of a Spaniard, from the clustering darkness of his eye-brows, his prominent nose, and a certain lustre in the balls of his eyes" (246). The mesmerizing gaze traditionally attributed to the Wandering Jew is carried over into Solomon's brief portrait.

Alonzo's expectation of "some horrible sacrifice" (244) in this terrifying scene is not actually fulfilled. A more gruesome scene follows on its heels, however, for Alonzo

witnesses the grotesque murder and dismemberment of a victim of the Inquisition later that evening on the streets of Madrid. As the juxtaposition of the two scenes suggests, Judaism is associated with both secret society sorcery and what Maturin describes as the Catholic Inquisition's "work of blood" (255). In comparison with Catholicism's public blood baths, however, Judaism's bloody rituals are portrayed as private and limited in terms of their number of "victims." Although Alonzo is terrified by the potential bloody conversion ritual involving Solomon's son and he denounces Solomon as a type of infectious vampire, a "Jew innate, an impostor, — a wretch, who, drawing sustenance from the bosom of our holy mother the church, had turned her nutriment to poison, and attempted to infuse that poison into the lips of his son" (249), Alonzo preserves his most gruesome denunciations for Roman Catholicism. Indeed, in his presentation of endless scenes "alike horrible to humanity, and disgraceful to civilization" (255), Maturin spares no venom in his condemnation of Catholicism in Melmoth the Wanderer. In the face of such horrors, Alonzo yearns to escape to "some Protestant country, beyond the reach of the Inquisition" (259). Alonzo's religious standpoint is not surprising given the fact that Maturin was an eccentric Dublin-born clergyman who always proudly reminded everyone of his Huguenot descent.

When the inquisitors arrive at Solomon's house to remove his son to a convent and away from what they refer to as Solomon's "pestilential influence" (261), Alonzo makes his way through an underground passage to the secret home of another Jew named Adonijah. This learned man's tremendous antiquity and his role as a tragic and undying witness of death associate him with the Wandering Jew of legend. It is, in part, his role as a revered patriarch in Maturin's graphic narrative to assess and inveigh against the monstrous, bloodthirsty nature of the infernal Inquisition. Comparing his underground Jewish world with the realm of Catholic Madrid above ground, Adonijah tells Alonzo:

Within this apartment I have passed the term of sixty years, and dost thou shudder to visit it for a moment? These be the skeletons of bodies, but in

the den thou hast escaped from were the skeletons of perished souls. Here are relics of the wrecks of the caprices of nature, but thou art come from where the cruelty of man, permanent and persevering, unrelenting and unmitigated, hath never failed to leave the proofs of its power in abortive intellects, crippled frames, distorted creeds, and ossified hearts. Moreover, there are around thee parchments and charts scrawled as it were with the blood of man, but, were it even so, could a thousand such volumes cause such terror to the human eye, as a page of the history of thy prison, written as it is in blood, drawn, not from the frozen veins of the dead, but from the bursting hearts of the living. (265-6).

Surrounded in his subterranean apartment by skulls and several parchment scrolls that appear to be inscribed with human blood, Adonijah essentially represents the old Jewish law, Catholicism's buried past. Although Alonzo initially believes he has encountered a "grand wizard" (263) and an agent of Satan (264), and expects to be "the involuntary witness of some infernal orgie" (263), he later provides another portrait of Adonijah: "my eyes hung in reverence on the hoary majesty of his patriarchal figure, and I felt as if I beheld an embodied representation of the old law in all its stern simplicity — the unbending grandeur, and primeval antiquity" (267). Maturin's portrait of Judaism is undeniably ambivalent. Respectable in its stern, ancient, simplicity, it is also reprehensible in its primitive ritual practices. In comparison with the idolatrous and barbarian religious of Roman Catholicism, however, Judaism is represented as semi-civilized. Although a tremendous dread of forced and bloody religious conversion infuses this episode and Alonzo fears for his life at the hands of Adonijah, he remains unharmed. Instead, he is employed by the patriarch to copy old manuscripts containing strange, fascinating tales.

Adonijah's domestic arrangement and location in a subterranean "vault" has a sinister cast. Surrounded by the skeletons of four dead family members "in a kind of upright coffin, that gave their bony emptiness a kind of ghastly and imperative prominence,

as if they were the real and rightful tenants of that singular apartment" (263), Adonijah's macabre home anticipates the morbid domain of Castle Dracula which is inhabited by coffin-dwellers. The graphic description of "human and brute abortions, in all their states of anomalous and deformed construction, not preserved in spirits, but standing in the ghastly nakedness of their white diminutive bones" (263) also invokes the blood libel. This scene echoes that featuring the menacing, circumcising Solomon and his son. The threat Jews pose to innocent children, however, is rendered more graphic in Dracula, however, where vampires actually consume children (39, 177).¹⁶

Given the prevalent anti-Catholic keynote of Melmoth the Wanderer, it is not surprising that Maturin establishes links between the theme of vampirism and the Catholics, rather than the Jews, in this novel. Chris Baldick has noted the vampire theme in Melmoth in the bloody tale of Guzman's family (Baldick 1989: xviii) which Marie Roberts has suggested is based on Polidori's Vampyre which was published a year prior to Melmoth the Wanderer (1990: 136). Another literary precursor for this scene might actually be Godwin's St. Leon where the avaricious eponymous protagonist figuratively vampirizes his family. A wealthy Catholic named Guzman initially refuses communication with his sister Ines and her "heretic [Protestant] family" (401), the Walbergs. Guzman later alters the terms of their relationship and sets the loving and loyal Walberg family up in luxury. Upon Guzman's death, however, the Catholic Church deceptively steals his fortune, thus rendering the expectant Walbergs penniless.¹⁷ The ensuing events indict Roman Catholicism as a figuratively vampiric religion whose abuses are monstrous and barbarian. As they begin to starve, Everhard, Walberg's faithful son, repeatedly sells his blood to a surgeon in order to feed the family. This feast of metaphorical cannibalism is decisively brought home in Maturin's description of Everhard's arrival at the frugal family meal:

"Squabbling about your supper?" cried Everhard, bursting among them with a wild and feeble laugh, — "Why, here's enough for to-morrow — and to-morrow." And he flung indeed ample means for two day's

subsistence on the table, but he looked paler and paler. The hungry family devoured the hoard, and forgot to ask the cause of his increasing paleness, and obviously diminished strength. (420)

The memorably grotesque description of the dying, bleeding Everhard could be that of a vampire victim:

The snow-white limbs of Everhard were extended as if for the inspection of a sculptor, and moveless, as if they were indeed what they resembled, in hue and symmetry, those of a marble statue. His arms were tossed above his head, and the blood was trickling fast from the opened veins of both, — his bright and curled hair was clotted with the red stream that flowed from his arms, — his lips were blue, and a faint and fainter moan issued from them as his mother hung over him. (422)

As in the portrait of the Jewish knife-wielding Solomon who is introduced in a classic menacing stance as he prepares to circumcise his son, Walberg later becomes a monstrous, vampiric, crypto-Abraham who threatens to kill his children. This devastating episode may be described as the tale of Little Red Riding Hood gone nightmarishly bad. Hearing his family's groans of starvation, the wretched Walberg totters toward their beds like the Big Bad Wolf where he is supplicated by his children:

"Father! — father!" cried Julia, "are these your hands? Oh let me live, and I will do any thing — any thing but" — "Father! — dear father!" cried Ines, "spare us! — to-morrow may bring another meal!" Maurice, the young child, sprung from his bed, and cried, clinging round his father, "Oh, dear father, forgive me! — but I dreamed a wolf was in the room, and was tearing out our throats; and, father, I cried so long, that I thought you never would come. And now — Oh God! oh God! — as he felt the hands of the frantic wretch grasping his throat, — 'are you the wolf?'" (430; emphasis added).

Walberg is reminiscent of St. Leon in this instance when, due to the gambling addiction that results in his family's starvation, St. Leon figuratively feeds on their vitals. In Melmoth the Wanderer's haunting hunger scene, the faithful son adopts the traditional paternal role in his attempts to help his starving family.

While Maturin's specific target in Melmoth the Wanderer is the brutality, idolatry, and avarice of the Catholic Church (as in Lewis's The Monk, it is Catholics who engage in the most grotesque and violent crimes), his Jews are, paradoxically, wolfish scapegoats who remain suspect for their original sin of betraying and killing Christ, the sacrificial lamb. Despite the benevolence of both of Alonzo's involuntary Jewish hosts — they heartily feed him in scenes that look forward to Jonathan Harker's meals in Dracula's castle — there exists a powerful underlying fear that they may also engage in diminutive but similar “works of blood” that violate Christian scriptural law. The blood libel looms large. Just as the lupine-associated Dracula, a figurative wolf in sheep's clothing, proves to be a demonic host who literalizes the fundamental eucharistic notion that “the blood is the life,” Alonzo fears that his Jewish hosts will poison and/or cannibalize him (249, 265). Like Jonathan Harker, Alonzo worries, as he crosses himself after every mouthful and says an internal prayer over every sip of wine, that his body may become a banquet upon which his “involuntary [Jewish] host”, after some ritual fattening of the calf, will feed (Stoker 1897: 51, Maturin 249).

As Edgar Rosenberg argues with regard to Shakespeare's cut-throat Jewish character Shylock in The Merchant of Venice, “From cutting out the Christian's heart [an act committed in Chaucer's “The Prioress's Tale”], it was only a step to feeding on it; and occasionally the charge of mutilation carried with it obscure implications of cannibalism” (25). In Bram Stoker's Dracula, the feeding frenzy of the debauched and sexualized Wandering Jew, intent on infecting and converting Christians to his demonic religion, begins. While Charles Robert Maturin's Melmoth the Wanderer helps to pave the way for Count Dracula by rendering the threat of Judaization more physically, and even sexually,

violent, Joseph Sheridan Le Fanu's 1872 tale "Carmilla" (the work of yet another Dubliner) marks a noteworthy stage in the development of the vampiric Wandering Jew. In Le Fanu's risqué story, the Wandering Jew is decisively converted from a figurative to an actual vampire.

V. "Carmilla":

The Case of the Unidentified Wandering Jew Vampire

Joseph Sheridan Le Fanu's 1872 story "Carmilla" is probably second to Bram Stoker's Dracula as the English literary canon's choice for the most memorable vampire tale of the Victorian era. Literary critics have made much of the fact that both Le Fanu and Stoker were Anglo-Irish writers, "sons of Dublin's Protestant professional class" (Tracy 1993: xxi), who were engaged with the Gothic genre. Le Fanu was Stoker's senior by thirty-three years and was actually Stoker's employer in his unpaid position as drama critic for the Dublin Evening Mail at the time that "Carmilla" was published (Belford 50-1). Set in the late seventeenth-century in the "traditional vampire territory" (xx) of Styria, an Austrian province on the Hungarian border, "Carmilla" probably influenced Stoker's choice of setting for his opening chapter of Dracula. Although subsequently edited out of that novel, this chapter was published posthumously as the title short story in the collection Dracula's Guest (Belford 193). As Robert Tracy explains:

Stoker had signalled his debt to "Carmilla" in what was intended to be the opening chapter of Dracula, deleted because his publisher thought it revealed the vampire theme prematurely. In that chapter, Jonathan Harker, en route to Castle Dracula, wanders in the vicinity of Munich on Walpurgis-Nacht (1 May), when the witches hold their revels. He arrives at a great tomb, inscribed as that of "Countess Dolingen of Gratz in Styria", who "sought and found death, 1801." (1993: xxi)

Other connections between these works have been noted by literary critics: Doctor Hesselius and Dr. Van Helsing play similar roles, the featured vampires are aristocrats, the key settings are gloomy feudal residences, and both Le Fanu and Stoker "managed to satisfy the perverse cravings of ... [their] readers while heeding the strictures of official

morality" (Marigny 83). Indeed, in its provocative lesbian vampire sequences, "Carmilla" brings the sexual "demon lover" aspect of the vampire theme to the foreground.

Le Fanu's "Carmilla" features a wanderer who has been given little critical attention. While his association with the Wandering Jew is only cryptically intimated, he does possess certain physical vampire features which Stoker will capitalize on in Dracula. To date, the association between the unnamed wanderer who appears in Chapter Four of Le Fanu's story and Stoker's wandering vampire Count has not been considered. Le Fanu's wanderer enters the story shortly after Carmilla's arrival at the "feudal residence" (244) owned by the father of Laura, the nineteen-year-old storyteller. Carmilla comes to their home after the sudden, unexplained death of a girl named Bertha, the daughter of General Spielsdorf, a close friend of Laura's father. The reader soon discovers Carmilla's vampire nature and recognizes that Laura is her next intended victim. It is the deformed hunchbacked wanderer, however, who first draws the reader's attention to an unusual aspect of Carmilla's physiognomy — her noticeably sharp teeth, which he describes as "long, thin, [and] pointed, like an awl, like a needle" (269). After offering to sell Carmilla and Laura "an amulet against the oupire, which is going like the wolf ... through the woods" (268), he volunteers to "round and blunt" Carmilla's sharp teeth with his "odd little steel instruments" (269). Detecting Carmilla's anger at this suggestion, this curious character rapidly departs from the scene.

This brief three-page sequence featuring an ambivalent mysterious wanderer who is uncannily knowledgeable about the realm of the supernatural and the methods for counteracting evil, hearkens back to the Wandering Jew figures featured in earlier Gothic works. Like Lewis's Wandering Jew, Le Fanu's wanderer seems to be benevolent. Like Schiller's Wandering Armenian in The Ghost-Seer, he is not described as a Wandering Jew. Nonetheless, he shares characteristics of both the traditional legendary figure and his Gothic literary counterparts. Not only does he carry the legendary Wandering Jew's traditional staff¹⁸ — this one is black and decorated with copper ferrules (268) — his

physiognomy is typical: he has a demonic “pointed black beard” (267) usually associated with the Jewish devil in medieval iconography, and the Wandering Jew’s traditional “piercing black eye[s]” (268).

It is his association with the secret sciences, however, that especially connects Le Fanu’s mysterious wanderer to the literary Wandering Jew. Carrying “a magic lantern, and two boxes, ... in one of which was a salamander, and in the other a mandrake” (268), this traveller offers the young girls significantly inscribed charms to protect them against the vampire. They consist of “oblong slips of vellum with cabalistic ciphers and diagrams upon them” (268; emphasis added). Like the Wandering Jew in Lewis’s *The Monk* (167), Le Fanu’s wanderer is also associated with mountebanks. In fact, he is specifically described as one (268). What is of particular interest, however, is his connection to the stereotypical canine, “fanging” Jew. This is signalled in several ways. First, he is accompanied by a rough spare dog who, sensing evil and danger, continually howls in Carmilla’s presence. He is also particularly attentive to teeth and practises dentistry. Finally, he is an exceptionally unusual Crypto-Wandering Jew for he possesses the vampire’s signature aspect. When he smiles “from ear to ear, [he] show[s] ... his white fangs” (267).¹⁹ This physical attribute aligns Le Fanu’s wanderer with the dreaded but benevolent Wandering Jew figures in early British Gothic literature. In this case, however, his ethical ambivalence is rendered more obvious: while he is a vampire-detector he also bears an alarming resemblance to a vampire.

Le Fanu’s vampiric wanderer marks a novel stage in what I have outlined as the development of the vampiric Wandering Jew in Gothic literature. Unlike Godwin’s symbolically vampiric Wandering Jew, Le Fanu’s hunchbacked mountebank physically combines characteristics of both Gothic figures. Like Lewis’s Wandering Jew with his incredible occult paraphernalia, Le Fanu’s wanderer functions as a type of supernatural detective who recognizes the existence of an actual vampire and possesses the requisite materials to ward him off. In his spiritual aspect as a benevolent type who has links to the

supernatural, he is reminiscent of Gothic literature's early Wandering Jew figures. In his physical make-up, however, he anticipates Stoker's demonic Count Dracula. While the reader may only suspect that Le Fanu's suspiciously ambivalent wanderer might be a vampire, in Stoker's Dracula that suspicion is proven to be warranted.

NOTES

¹ As J.M.S. Tompkins explains, "The order of translation was: — Herman of Unna (1794), ascribed to Professor Cramer; The Ghost-Seer (1795); The Victim of Magical Delusions, by P. Will (1795) and The Genius, which was twice translated in 1796, as The Genius: or the Mysterious Adventures of Don Carlos de Grandez, by Joseph Trapp, and as Horrid Mysteries by P. Will" (281).

² Tompkins's description of The Ghost-Seer's plot is curious for two reasons: there is no reference to a secret society in the first English translation of Schiller's novel in 1795, and in the subsequent 1853 English translation the mysterious stranger is nowhere even implicitly connected to the secret society which is known as the Bucentauro. I am unfortunately unable to read Schiller's novel in the original German in order to discover which version actually constitutes the authentic translation. This is further complicated by other problems. Henry G. Bohn, the English translator for the 1853 version, relates that "The Ghost-Seer ... was first published between 1785 and 1789, in the periodical work called the Thalia, and soon after (1789) in a separate volume. Schiller could never be prevailed on to finish it, but the denouement is to be gathered from a series of letters, published in the same periodical. Various Grub Street authors (for Germany, too, has its Grub Street), invented sequels, none of which have outlived their hour. The first English translation appeared in 1795, abridged, and without the letters, but well executed" (xi). Curiously, while Bohn notes that the first English translation of The Ghost-Seer was abridged, he does not remark upon a substantial difference between the representation of the Armenian in the 1795 translation and his own.

³ Matthew Paris's wanderer in the Chronica majora is also not a Jew, but many of the elements of Paris's tale are subsequently integrated into the legend of the Wandering Jew that enters British folklore in the seventeenth century. As to Schiller's use of Paris's tale, George K. Anderson argues that "Very likely he [Schiller] got the idea of using an Armenian from the pages of Matthew Paris" (177). Eino Railo further argues that "No mention is made of the name Ahasuerus, and, as the reader can see, the picture contains features developed beyond those of the traditional Ahasuerus. Nevertheless, the Armenian is obviously founded upon the legend" (197).

⁴ Brewer's Dictionary of Phrase and Fable describes Apollonius as the "Master of the Rosicrucians" (55). This is further supported by Edward Bulwer-Lytton's romance novel Zanoni where it "is darkly hinted ... that Apollonius's teachings were the inspiration behind the true Rosicrucian order" (Roberts 159). Although Colin Wilson claims that Christian Rosencreutz — and not Apollonius — was the legendary founder of Rosicrucianism, both figures were adepts in the Cabala and other occult sciences (3). Whatever the case, both are associated with a branch of Jewish religious culture that became increasingly demonized in modern Europe.

⁵ According to Colin Wilson, Apollonius of Tyana was a wandering philosopher who was the most famous disciple of Pythagoras. Not only was Apollonius often figured as diametrically opposed to Christ's disciple, St. John the Apostle (197), a note in the 1795 translation of The Ghost-Seer relates that he was described frequently as the antithesis of the miracle worker, Jesus Christ (126-7). As the anonymous translator notes, "The heathens opposed the pretended miracles of this man to those of our Saviour, and gave the preference to this philosopher.... Mr. du Pin has published a confutation of Apollonius's

life, in which he proves that the miracles of this pretended philosopher carry strong marks of falsehood, and that there is not one which may not be imputed to chance or artifice" (128).

⁶ Peter Grudin makes a similar suggestion when he describes the Bleeding Nun as a revenant (22).

⁷ The best examination of this stereotype that I have read is R. Po-chia Hsia's essay, "Jews as Magicians in Reformation Germany." Hsia argues that the "magical reputation of Jews was already firmly established before the Christianization of the Roman Empire. But in medieval Christianity Jewish magic came to be seen as essentially demonic. In its fight to establish orthodoxy and control, the medieval church gradually eroded away any conceptual distinctions between heretics, magicians, and Jews, lumping all under the realm of darkness, attacking all as the enemy of true religion" (116).

⁸ Another literary work contemporary with Lewis's The Monk also portrays the Wandering Jew as a wealthy man. Andrew Franklin's The Wandering Jew, or, Love's Masquerade was first produced at the Drury Lane Theater in 1797 and features a young adventurer in the guise of the Wandering Jew. In order to dupe the money-obsessed father of the woman he loves, the adventurer places an article in the newspaper saying that the Wandering Jew is in London and predicts that "the hour of his dissolution will be within a twelvemonth". The "subject of his journey to London is, to wed some British beauty, by whom he may leave an heir to his wealth and his longevity" (30). Franklin clearly discarded the notion of the Wandering Jew's accursed state and the popular millenarian tradition for the basis of his plot.

⁹ I borrow the idea for "St. Godwin" from a satire which appeared a year after St. Leon was published entitled St. Godwin: A Tale of the 16th, 17th, and 18th Century (Rosenberg 371, n.18).

¹⁰ In its skeletal plot framework, St. Leon may be deemed a father-text to Mary Shelley's Frankenstein. In Shelley's own Gothic tale, the unchecked individualist/scientist is Victor Frankenstein whose destructive monster-double is significantly described by his creator as "my own vampire, my own spirit let loose from the grave, and forced to destroy all that was dear to me" (57). Among other narrative elements, this image of avarice and the quest for power as parasitic/vampiric is retained in both novels.

For an examination of the intertextual relationship between Godwin's St. Leon and Mary Shelley's Frankenstein see Gregory Maertz, "Family Resemblances: Intertextual Dialogue Between Father and Daughter Novelists in Godwin's St. Leon and Shelley's Frankenstein." In response to Barbara Johnson's claim that "Frankenstein ... can be read as the story of the experience of writing Frankenstein," Maertz astutely argues that "the writing of Frankenstein is about the re-writing of St. Leon" (311).

¹¹ As I discuss in greater detail in Chapter Four, Count Dracula attended the Scholomance which was a type of educational secret society. Located amongst the mountains over Lake Hermanstadt, the Scholomance admitted only ten scholars at a time. After being taught "the secrets of nature, the language of animals, and all magic spells" (Frayling 322) by the devil himself, the tenth scholar was exacted at the course's end as the devil's payment due (Stoker 1897: 241). As no other reason is offered in the novel, it is possible that Dracula was the tenth scholar who was relinquished to the devil in order to undertake his work.

¹² As Bonamy Dobrée writes in the explanatory notes to the Oxford edition of The Mysteries of Udolpho, Ann Radcliffe refers to Domenichino (Domenico Zampieri) in that novel as he influenced the development of seventeenth-century Italian landscape painting. These works are peopled with shepherds and banditti, and are characterized by wildly craggy landscapes which “create an atmosphere in which awe serves only to heighten the sense of imminent danger and permanent terror which goes into an experience of the sublime” (674).

¹³ Although Godwin may not have been aware of it, an actual Roman Catholic-Jewish association existed during the era of the religious wars as “Jewish money was enabling the Emperor Charles V to proceed against those German princes who had embraced evangelical truth” (Rose 4).

¹⁴ For an exception to the usually positive responses to Bethlem Gabor, see Gary Kelly, “History and Fiction: Bethlem Gabor in Godwin's St. Leon.”

¹⁵ Raphael Patai's research supports the aspect of Flamel's story relating his act of gaining alchemical knowledge from a Jewish scholar. As there was a widely held view that such Jewish Biblical figures as Adam, Tubal-Cain, Moses, and Solomon were alchemists, “This belief gave rise to the fashion, widespread among medieval and later European Christian alchemists, to seek out a Jewish master — usually in the lands of the south and the east, where ancient traditions were supposed to have survived more fully than in the west — and become his disciple in acquiring the secrets of the Royal Art” (11). Patai further explains how “Another factor in the high estimation of Jewish alchemical expertise by Christian

alchemists was the attribution of alchemical-mystical efficacy to Hebrew divine, angelic, and demonic names, to Hebrew words, and even to the letters of the Hebrew alphabet. The Jew who knew Hebrew was believed, due to that very fact, to possess an advantage over the Christian when it came to acquiring mastery of the Great Art. Thus the Hebrew language had for the alchemist a greater importance than Latin has had down to the present time for the physician" (11).

Patai also relates, however, that these ideas in the popular culture were manipulated for anti-Semitic ends: "The widely held belief that Jews were experts in alchemy was grist for the mills of anti-Semitic authors.... Indeed, the overvaluation by gentiles of the Jewish role in the origin and development of alchemy survived the European Enlightenment and continued unabated into the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries" (12).

¹⁶ The Count's "terrible bag" (44) with which he goes out baby-snatching is, in fact, reminiscent of the Jewish old clothes man Simon's bag in Maria Edgeworth's Harrington which terrifies the young Harrington. This novel, published three years before Melmoth the Wanderer, also plays on the blood libel charge for Harrington is told "stories of Jews who had been known to steal poor children for the purpose of killing, crucifying, and sacrificing them at their secret feasts and midnight abominations" (3). The young protagonist lives in terror of the Jew's bag. He fancies that it contains the "mangled limbs of children" and will soon swallow him up (4).

¹⁷ Eugène Sue's Le Juif Errant (1844-1845) deals with a similar situation with regard to money. In his book, the Jesuit "secret society" is the avaricious, parasitic force. Guided by their ruthless leader Rodin, the Jesuits attempt to gain a fortune of millions of francs which rightfully belongs to the several heirs of the Huguenot family of Rennepont.

¹⁸ This staff was made especially popular thanks to Gustave Doré's twelve engravings of the Wandering Jew which accompanied a poem titled "Le Juif Errant" by Pierre-Jean de Béranger. Although Béranger's poem was initially published in 1831, Doré's accompanying engravings first appeared in a volume dated 1856. The first English edition of this volume appeared in 1859 (Anderson 260). George K. Anderson has noted that "if we were to look for the most distinguished nonliterary presentation of the Wandering Jew in the nineteenth century, it would be not in musical forms but in the twelve remarkable engravings by Gustave Doré.... They have remained something to be remembered by thousands of people during the last hundred years and have done much to make the popular image of the Wandering Jew what it is" (260-261).

¹⁹ The Crypto-Wandering Jew in "Carmilla" is not the first Jewish figure in British literature to possess fangs. Charles Dickens's notorious Fagin in Oliver Twist (1837-1839) adheres to the fanging, canine Jew stereotype. He is repeatedly described as a dog and associated with dogs throughout this novel (154, 418), and the reader is informed that he has claws (398). He is even depicted in one instance as "a blackhearted wolf" (400). Mention of his canine fangs, however, is made only towards the novel's end when the pensive Fagin is described as follows, "His right hand was raised to his lips, and as, absorbed in thought, he bit his long black nails, he disclosed among his toothless gums a few such fangs as should have been a dog's or rat's" (417).

Fagin is also a fine example of what I describe in my Introduction as the Gothic Jew. He is consistently portrayed in Oliver Twist as a devil (412) whose Whitechapel haunt (186) is suited to his nocturnal machinations. Although Fagin is not described as a vampire, the imagery of parasitism pervades his portrait. In one early instance, the narrator

says of this Gothic Jew parasite, "It seemed just the night when it befitted such a being as the Jew to be abroad. As he glided stealthily along, creeping beneath the shelter of the walls and doorways, the hideous old man seemed like some loathsome reptile, engendered in the slime and darkness through which he moved: crawling forth, by night, in search of some rich offal for a meal" (186). A further suggestion of vampirism is attributed to the Gothic Jew Fagin when Bill Sykes describes him as being "like a ugly ghost just rose from the grave" (187).

The canine-associated, fanging Jew figure was also exported to American literature. In F. Scott Fitzgerald's The Great Gatsby (1926), for example, Meyer Wolfsheim, a gambler who purportedly "fixed the World's Series back in 1919", owns cuff buttons that are "composed of oddly familiar pieces of ivory" (70; emphasis added). In an image that turns the established practise of the dentition of the Jews on its head, these uncanny ornaments are revealed to be the "[f]inest specimens of human molars" (70).

Chapter Four

Demonic Consumption/Demonic Conversion:

Bram Stoker's Dracula

The Wandering Jew was one of Bram's pet themes — he was later to write about it himself. But at present he was hard at work on a subject far more weird. His researches done, he was deep in the actual writing of Dracula ...

(Ludlam 97-98)

Stoker created a myth comparable in vitality to that of the Wandering Jew, Faust, or Don Juan. (MacGillivray 518)

The aristocratic figure of Count Dracula represents the culmination in the development of the vampiric Wandering Jew in British Gothic literature. That he should have appeared in all of his bloodthirsty, proselytizing glory at the fin de siècle was, as I will argue in this chapter, almost predictable. The nature of British nationalism had undergone many significant changes by the end of the century and with it the nature of the threat of Judaization had also altered. Alongside a more coercive, jingoistic, and xenophobic nationalism (Feldman 58; Hobsbawm 142, 152) came a more physically demonic representation of the Judaizing "Other" who endangered Britain. Protestant Britain thus continued to displace its anxieties about its tendencies by projecting them onto, among others, a Jewish doppelgänger. That this dark double had become a vampire by century's end betrays a great deal about imperialist Britain's unconscious anxieties about itself. As Patrick Brantlinger has astutely argued, political and cultural concerns about the imperial enterprise often became gothicised in fin-de-siècle literature.

The fact that British Jews were able to assume public office since 1855 and had been granted full political emancipation by 1871 (Dinur 701) did not signify the unconditional acceptance of Anglo-Jews in British society. Anti-Semitic stereotypes persisted and other concerns emerged, particularly regarding the economy and cultural assimilation, that were exacerbated by the arrival in Britain, beginning in the 1880s, of tens

of thousands of Eastern European Jews fleeing pogroms and persecution (Zanger 34).¹ Among other things, I hope to illustrate how Stoker's Dracula managed, quite brilliantly, to tap into two joint fears at the fin de siècle — the alien “invasion” and take-over of Britain by Eastern European Jews from without (a scenario described as both the fear of “reverse colonization” (Arata 623) and reverse imperialism (Brantlinger 233-4)), and the threat of Anglo-Jewish take-over from within. Gothicised in Stoker's novel, these dreaded scenarios involve a type of body-snatching, a covert conversion — or Judaization — of Britons that was particularly terrifying for two reasons: it was undertaken, in part, willingly by its “converts,” and it occurred privately and, usually, without the notice of the public at large.

The complex nature of Count Dracula's Judaization threat is only understood when considered in the light of various prominent fin-de-siècle anxieties. Indeed, Dracula is a consummate 1890s cultural production which responded, albeit sometimes cryptically, to “a distinct constellation of contemporary fears” (Pick 71) including syphilis, homosexuality, proto-feminism, the advent of monopoly capitalism, and imperial decline. To many Britons at the fin de siècle, like Bram Stoker, these fears were terrifying signs of national degeneration. As several literary critics and historians have cogently argued, degeneration haunted Britain during this period. Given a socio-political climate where “fissures ... [were] appearing in bourgeois hegemony, patriarchy and imperial power ... [and] forces [were] gathering ... against and within Victorian society” (Longhurst 65-66), it is not surprising that the literature produced during Stoker's era was “saturated with the sense that the entire nation — as a race of people, as a political and imperial force, as a social and cultural power — was in irretrievable decline” (Arata 622).

What has not been noted to date is that “Jewishness” functioned as a signifier, both in Stoker's Dracula and in Stoker's society, under whose aegis these diverse fears of national degeneration stood united. Even Max Nordau, the Jewish author of the famous anti-modernism polemic Degeneration (1895) which pathologized the fin de siècle (3),

maintained that Jews were more susceptible than Christians to moral, mental, and physical degeneration (Chamberlin and Gilman 292). These ideas were granted further support in new pseudo-scientific studies which traced the inception of syphilis, for example, to the Jewish community. Rather significantly, the Wandering Jew played a central role in a pseudo-scientific study by Henry Meige, a student of Dr. Jean Martin Charcot. This figure of legend is essentially psychopathologised as a peripatetic neurotic whose co-religionists are deemed to be particularly prone to mental illness.

That several Jews were suspected of the Jack the Ripper murders in 1888, crimes which were considered to be the most degenerate of their era, was also unsurprising given the socio-cultural climate at the fin de siècle. Indeed, it was popularly claimed that the Ripper's bloodthirsty acts of butchery could not have been committed by an Englishman (Walkowitz 203). I argue here that the Whitechapel murders were one of several contemporary phenomena that were incorporated into Dracula's dense narrative whirlpool.² Notably, the popular media representations of the Ripper provide evidence that the Gothic Jew remained a vital bogey at the fin de siècle. Particularly in his fictionalized ethnic aspect and all that it signified culturally, Jack the Ripper may be said to be Count Dracula's semiotic blood brother.

Such associations as that made between Judaism and degeneration testified to a new form of anti-Semitism in fin-de-siècle Europe, one that was more racially, as opposed to theologically, based. This shift in the fundamental nature of anti-Semitism went hand in hand with the increasingly popular tendency "to define a nation in terms of ethnicity" (Hobsbawm 144). Patrick Brantlinger further relates that imperialism "grew particularly racist and aggressive from the 1870s on" (35). In the light of these new trends in nationalism and imperialism, blood — Dracula's most prevalent signifier — assumes rich symbolic meaning.³ By way of this symbol, Bram Stoker unifies his novel's most important themes. In Renfield's demonic parody of the Eucharistic phrase that "the blood is the life," Stoker crystallizes the nature of the terror posed by his vampiric Wandering

Jew. In keeping with established anti-Semitic stereotypes, Count Dracula is guilty of desecration of the Host and the blood libel. Indeed, both violations are cleverly combined in Dracula's vampirism.

Count Dracula's desecration of the Host extends to the biological meaning of the term and gestures towards his ultimate role in Stoker's novel: he is a parasite from an alien nation who vigorously feeds off Britain, his Christian host nation. Harker strikes the novel's most resonant note of terror when he articulates his fear that he will be abetting Dracula's conspiratorial aim of colonizing England in transferring this creature to London. In his words, "perhaps for centuries to come, he [Dracula] might, amongst its teeming millions, satiate his lust for blood, and create a new and ever widening circle of semi-demons to batten on the helpless" (51). One of the reasons the Count's parasitism is especially terrifying, therefore, is because it is a potential mode of conversion. As I will proceed to show, this conversion threat is indirectly the threat of Judaization which significantly occurs, in keeping with established anti-Semitic tradition, through infection. In his figuration of vampirism as a type of blood disease, Stoker both draws upon longstanding anti-Semitic stereotypes associating Jews with plagues, and speaks to his era's syphilis epidemic. Judaization in Dracula, however, carries with it various other religious, economic, political, spiritual, and sexual implications. As such, Stoker's representation of the spectre of Judaization marks the apogee in the literary development of the sinister figure of the vampiric Wandering Jew who was crucial to the formation of British national identity. As David Punter has perceptively remarked, Dracula ultimately asks the "question appropriate to an age of imperial decline: how much ... can one lose — individually, socially, nationally — and still remain a man? One could put the question much more brutally: to what extent can one be 'infected' and still remain British?" (239-240)

No reader could possibly suspect, based on the initial introduction to Count Dracula in Bram Stoker's classic novel, that a vigorous, bloodthirsty demon lurked within his person. As Jonathan Harker describes him during their first encounter:

Within, stood a tall old man, clean-shaven save for a long white moustache, and clad in black from head to foot, without a single speck of colour about him anywhere. He held in his hand an antique silver lamp, in which the flame burned without chimney or globe of any kind, throwing long, quivering shadows as it flickered in the draught of the open door. The old man motioned me in with his right hand with a courtly gesture, saying in excellent English, but with a strange intonation: — "Welcome to my house! Enter freely and of your own will!" (15)

As he further informs Harker shortly after his arrival, "through weary years of mourning over the dead, [Dracula] is not attuned to mirth" (24). This is not the stuff, the reader might remark, of which seductive "demon lover" vampires are traditionally made. As Lewis and Godwin's descriptions of their mysterious strangers clarify, however, this is the stuff of which the long-suffering, melancholic Wandering Jew — "that sad and fabulous mythological oddity" (Rosenberg 76) — is usually made. While Lewis's profoundly melancholic (168) Wandering Jew mournfully laments his lack of friends and his inability to die (169), Godwin's Zampieri is an incredibly afflicted man who is "feeble, emaciated, and pale, [with] his forehead full of wrinkles, and his hair and beard as white as snow" (124).

Dracula's description of historic Transylvanian battles "as if he had been present at them all" (28) also echoes earlier representations of the Wandering Jew in British Gothic literature. When Raymond's servant Theodore describes a conversation he had with the mysterious wanderer in Lewis's The Monk, he recounts how he

... named People who had ceased to exist for many Centuries, and yet with whom He appeared to have been personally acquainted. I could not mention a Country however distant which He had not visited, nor could I sufficiently admire the extent, and variety of his information. (169)

About his discussions with Zampieri in Godwin's novel, St. Leon also relates:

When we discoursed of events that had passed, and persons that had died, more than a century before, the stranger often spoke of them in a manner as if he had been an eye-witness, and directly acquainted with the objects of our discourse. (141)

Stoker also adheres to earlier literary portraits of the Wandering Jew which present Faustian characters engaged with the secret sciences. Van Helsing, Dracula's foremost opponent and modern-day counterpart, provides the details about the Count's involvement with this field of knowledge. Dracula's engagement with these studies during his lifetime (prior to his "undeath") was commendable according to Van Helsing:

As I learned from the researches of my friend Arminius of Buda-Pesth, he was in life a most wonderful man. Soldier, statesman, and alchemist — which latter was the highest development of the science-knowledge of his time. He had a mighty brain, a learning beyond compare, and a heart that knew no fear and no remorse. He dared even to attend the Scholomance, and there was no branch of knowledge of his time that he did not essay. (302)

Dracula's participation in the Scholomance (302), an exclusive educational secret society which admitted only ten scholars at a time and was located "amongst the mountains over Lake Hermanstadt", may have resulted in Dracula's vampiric existence and the shift in his moral nature. After being taught "the secrets of nature, the language of animals, and all magic spells" (Frayling 322) by the devil himself, the tenth scholar was exacted at the course's end as the devil's payment due (Stoker 1897: 241). As the origins of Dracula's

vampirism are not explained, it is possible that Dracula was the tenth scholar.⁴ In the light of Dracula's association with the secret sciences, it is fitting that Van Helsing and his allies form a secret society of their own in order to combat him. In this "Masonic narrative" (Glover 4)⁵, they undertake a modern Crusade, making "a solemn compact" (238) to "go out as the old knights of the Cross to redeem more [souls]" (320).

Dracula's role as a Wandering Jew figure is nowhere explicitly expressed in Stoker's novel. Rather, it is subtly suggested. While his journey to England during the course of the narrative provides some evidence of his peripatetic inclination, the hoarded gold and jewels that Harker discovers in the Count's room in his Transylvanian castle attest to the extensive temporal and geographical nature of the Count's travels. As Harker describes this discovery:

The only thing I found was a great heap of gold in one corner — gold of all kinds, Roman, and British, and Austrian, and Hungarian, and Greek and Turkish money, covered with a film of dust, as though it had lain long in the ground. None of it that I noticed was less than three hundred years old. There were also chains and ornaments, some jewelled, but all of them old and stained. (47)

This discovery and such acts as Dracula's search for buried treasure in Transylvania on the dreaded eve of St. George's Day (12-13) are significant for another reason. They suggest how, increasingly, secular anti-Semitic stereotypes were being grafted onto the legend of the Wandering Jew in British Gothic literature.

The ascetic, abstemious Wandering Jew of legend is certainly nowhere to be found in Stoker's Gothic thriller. Instead, "a new, secularized, non-Christian myth of Ahasverus" (Rose 54) is evident in Dracula. While Godwin's *Zampieri* may have anticipated Stoker's more secular Wandering Jew figure, modern philosophical humanists in mid-nineteenth-century Germany first coherently delineated his transformation "into an emblem of the Jewish Question" (27). As Paul Lawrence Rose relates, the Jewish

Question became inextricably bound up with the issue of national identity in Germany at that time:

For nineteenth-century Germans, so unsure of their own “Germanness,” the Jewish Question was ultimately the German Question. It was, in effect, another way of asking “What is German?” and receiving the satisfying answer — “whatever is not Jewish.” (41)

As the Wandering Jew was enlisted to address concerns about German nationalism, his epithet in Germany — the Ewige Jude or the “Eternal Jew” — was also simultaneously altered. It no longer signified the eternal character of Ahasverus's punishment but, rather, “those guiltful traits that were commonly regarded as eternally stamped on the Jewish national character and demanded redemption” (24; emphasis added).

Notably, the symbol of blood was crucial to the new image of the Wandering Jew in Germany. The nefarious Christian myths of “Moloch, the semitic god of human [usually child] sacrifice, and Mammon, the god of money” (45) were innovatively integrated into the traditional legend of the Wandering Jew in the 1840s. Particularly in the writings of Moses Hess and Karl Marx, the Jewish blood libel was secularized: Jewish blood sacrifices were represented as metaphoric rather than actual (47). As Rose explains this momentous shift, “[t]he blood of Christ Himself, spilled by ancient Jews, had now found a modern secular parallel in the crucifixion of modern mankind by Jewish capitalism” (21).

In Dracula, Stoker conflates the mythic figures of Moloch and Mammon in what may be described as that novel's central blood-money transaction theme. Before examining that dynamic in detail, however, it is important to consider the actual nature of the Jewish Question in fin-de-siècle Britain. As was the case in 1840s Germany, the Jewish Question was becoming increasingly bound up with the issue of national identity. As Judith Walkowitz argues, anti-Semitism was “one articulation of a rising tide of nationalism and racism orchestrated by the popular media” (203). H.L. Malchow concurs, noting that the

Jewish Question at the fin de siècle was used to address two particular issues of national concern — financial corruption and alien immigration (130).

Among many other writers, Sir Richard Burton, the famous British adventurer, author of King Vikram and the Vampire, and one of Bram Stoker's acquaintances (and heroes), was vital to the dissemination of anti-Semitic ideas in the 1890s. Burton's book, The Jew, the Gypsy and El Islam, published posthumously in 1898, shamelessly described the Jews as a "parasitic race" (17) and upheld the longstanding blood libel, a charge to which Russian theosophist Helen Blavatsky also lent credibility in her popular 1877 work Isis Unveiled (524)⁶. Burton's work further sought an "ample motive" for the "tumultuous and wholesale massacres" of Jews throughout history (116). He found such justification in what he described as the eternally evil Jewish character. It is noteworthy that Dracula could have been the model for Burton's scathing, anti-Semitic portrait:

His fierce passions and fiendish cunning, combined with abnormal powers of intellect, with intense vitality, and with a persistency of purpose which the world has rarely seen, and whetted moreover by a keen thirst for blood engendered by defeat and subjection, combined to make him the deadly enemy of all mankind, whilst his unsocial and iniquitous Oral Law contributed to inflame his wild lust of pelf, and to justify the crimes suggested by spite and superstition. (117; emphasis added)

Stoker's Count, arguably, incorporates aspects of such longstanding anti-Semitic stereotypes. He too lusts after blood and pelf and is portrayed as "the deadly enemy of all mankind".

Many of Burton's opinions had been expressed previously by Major E.C. Johnson whose book On the Track of the Crescent: Erratic Notes From Piraeus to Pesth was a primary source for Stoker's knowledge of the peoples inhabiting Transylvania. Johnson devotes an entire segment of his study on the Hungarian Jews whom he describes as follows:

Who can mistake them? The oval face; the “parrotty” beak, out of all proportion to the other features; the stooping gait and long, flowing beard; the furtive glances from under the shaggy eyebrow, now cringing, now vindictive; the black skullcap, from under which oily “kiss-me-quick” curls protrude, brushed well forward over the ears on each side of the low, thoughtful brow; the protruding lower lip; the receding chin; the bony hands, accustomed to roll together, either in supplication, or satisfaction at having “done a Christian in the eye;” ... all these show unmistakably the Hungarian branch of that race “against whom is every man's hand,” and who returns the compliment with compound interest. (Leatherdale 1987: 99-100)

Johnson especially focuses on Jewish commercial activity. He argues that anti-Semitic fury may be justified in the light of “how pitiless the Jews are when they have the too-confiding peasantry in their clutches” (100; emphasis added). Anticipating the Nazi stereotype of the unproductive consumer Jew who is power-hungry and conspiratorial, Johnson claims that the great talent of “this strange people” is their

... shrewdness in driving bargains, and ... [their] marvellous aptitude for conducting financial operations, in consequence of which they have accumulated most of the wealth of the world, and control an immense proportion of the business transactions on the civilised globe. They have, however, never added one grain to the food supply of men, or done any physical work or handicraft labour. (100)

The exceptions to this rule, as Johnson points out, lie with “the descendants of mixed marriages — Jewish men with Saxon women, or Saxon men with half-Jewish women” (100). Johnson is especially happy to note that the “type” of the pure Jewess is gradually disappearing in England thanks to miscegenation (101).

Not everyone held Johnson's views at the fin de siècle, however, regarding the Jew's potential for assimilating into British society. Throughout the 1890s, Sir Arnold White, a regular Lyceum Theatre patron (Stoker 1906: I.326) and, like Stoker, a popular contributor to The Nineteenth Century, published articles on what he specifically referred to as "The Jewish Question" (White vii). White was an ardent supporter of the 1905 British Aliens Act (Feldman 59) that, according to historian David Feldman was "symptomatic of new formulations of the idea of the nation and of a more expansive and coercive nation" (58). This Act effectively "prevented the immigration of thousands of Russian Jews and was a source of trepidation for those already settled in Britain" (57-8). The necessary corollary of a fortified British nationalism was a stronger, clearer sense of who constituted the foreign "Other" combined with the greater legal protection of British territory.

In his 1899 volume, The Modern Jew, White reiterated his stance on the subject of "The Jewish Question." Declaring "the engine of international finance [to be] ... under Jewish control, and ... public opinion ... medicated by Jewish influence over the European press" (xv), White feared that the "invasion of foreign paupers" (Feldman 80, n.10) would strengthen Jewish power in Britain and lead to a national crisis (x). According to him, the problem specifically lay with Jewish resistance to assimilation. He argued that this people remained an "undigested mass" (192). "Except among the Jewish aristocracy," White wrote, "they refuse to intermarry" (xiii). In his view, two choices lay before the Jews of which assimilation was the obvious, more preferable option. In his words:

There are two methods, and only two, in which the evil results of a Jewish imperium inside the English Empire can be obviated. It can be destroyed and its members expelled as was done in the thirteenth century in most countries in Europe, including England, and is likely to be done over again in France before many years have passed, or the Jewish community, frankly recognising the peril that besets them, must review their conduct and heartily work for instead of against the power of absorption which in two

generations made French Protestants of the day of Louis XIV, an integral part of the English people. (xii-xiii)

The passing of the Aliens Act several years later attests to the fact that many held White's opinions.

One such individual was C. Russell who argues in an essay in his co-edited collection The Jew in London: A Study of Racial Character and Present-Day Conditions (1900), that the

... invasion of the country by hordes of hungry Israelites, who seemed unfairly qualified for success in the industrial market by the combination of a sleuth-hound instinct for gain, with "an indefinitely low standard of life," naturally stirred up a certain amount of jealous hostility among the working-classes. (5; emphasis added)

Russell's graphic description of parasitic Jewish aliens is notably Gothic (even Draculaesque) and his reference to Jews as sleuth-hounds with an instinct for gain draws upon the popular stereotype of the canine, fanging Jew. Russell claims further that incoming foreign Jews had a debilitating effect on the real estate market. While some were buying up property, rental fees were increasing due to overcrowding. As a result of these trends, he maintains, poor British Christians were being displaced from the increasingly Jewish East End neighbourhood of Whitechapel (1900: 17).

Although Russell describes Jews as a collective group who are "isolated and peculiar ..., self-centred in their organisation, and fundamentally alien in their ideas and aims" (1900: 8), he draws certain distinctions between the newly arrived foreign Jews and Anglo-Jews. He basically concurs with White that the distinction between these two groups lies in the area of their potential assimilation. While the latter is "often an ardent patriot", the former pose a national threat (1900: 36). Unlike White, however, Russell locates the origins of this threat in Zionism, an ideology that he claims undermines all attempts at assimilation and Anglicization. While resistance to assimilation is laid at the

doorstep of the newly arrived foreign Jews, White casts doubt on the ability of any Jew to become English when he quotes a correspondent for the Jewish World, the organ of the English Zionists, who states, "There is no such thing as an English Jew, just as there is no such thing as a 'German Chinaman'" (1900: 111). That Jewish nationalism was also born in the 1880s and 1890s during the period of burgeoning British right-wing nationalism was clearly cause for concern for some Britons. Although Zionism was conceived, according to Hannah Arendt, as an answer or "counterideology" to antisemitism (xi), it also, unfortunately, helped to foster it by confirming what many long believed, namely that the Jews could never be assimilated into any nation.⁷ The popular prejudice, therefore, was that Jews remained incontrovertibly alien or, as Count Dracula so aptly describes himself, "a stranger in a strange land" (20).⁸

In her chapter on "The Jewish Community" in the 1889 publication Life and Labour of the People in London, noted Fabian Beatrice Webb also articulates the popular view regarding distinctions between suspect "alien" immigrant Jews and good gentlemanly Anglo-Jews. Maintaining that the Polish or Russian Jew "can in no sense be considered a fair sample of [Anglo-]Jews who have enjoyed the freedom, the culture, and the public spirit of English life" (185), she portrays immigrant Jews as notorious gamblers (185) who do not possess "that highest and latest development of human sentiment — social morality" (191). Webb argues that in the domain of his commercial dealings

[t]he small [Jewish] manufacturer injures the trade through which he rises to the rank of a capitalist by bad and dishonest production. The petty dealer or small money lender, imbued with the economic precept of buying in the cheapest and selling in the dearest market, suits his wares and his terms to the weakness, the ignorance, and the vice of his customers ... (191)

She maintains that Jewish traders adhere to the political economy of "an Always Enlightened Selfishness" as upheld by David Ricardo, "the Hebrew economist" (192).

Various claims were also made at the fin de siècle that Jews were displacing native Britons in certain trades. According to H.L. Malchow:

In the same year that saw the publication of Dracula, the novelist Robert H. Sherard brought out a collection of essays on The White Slaves of England. Writing on the slipper-makers and tailors of Leeds, he blames the low wages that were driving many English out of the trade on the unfair competition of recently immigrated Jews. His visit to a Jewish slipper factory in the dead of night, when it was gas-lit and going strong, evokes an essentially gothic image. (158)

Many of these anti-Semitic ideas and the anxieties they generated inform a curious pamphlet entitled The Hebrew Talisman. Originally published in 1840 and subsequently updated and reprinted by the Theosophical Publishing Society in 1888, The Hebrew Talisman is subtended by the fear of the usurious Crypto-Jew who aims to undermine British national interests. It exposes the purported Jewish conspiracy to regain Palestine by exerting power in Britain. It features a Wandering Jew who reveals that he possesses a magic talisman which he bestows on prominent Jews dedicated to advancing Jewish interests. He explains that Jews have consistently practised “righteous usury” in order to raise themselves up across Europe (16). In recent years, he states, England has become “the resort of thousands of my oppressed people; and if England insulted and spat upon them in theory, it at least supplied them with wealth boundless and dupes innumerable” (16-17).

Clearly intended to incite anti-Semitic feeling in Britain, this inflammatory pamphlet concludes by detailing the death of Nathan Meyer Rothschild (1836), the most recent prominent Jew to possess the Hebrew talisman. After using it to defeat the Emperor Napoleon — whose goal to possess and colonize Palestine (29) put him at odds with those advancing the Jewish cause — Rothschild subsequently abandoned that cause in favour of fulfilling his own self-interest. Although he does not name the next chosen recipient of the

talisman, the Wandering Jew declares that he has been shown his face in a dream (32). This man, he says, has already used the talisman (32).⁹ Notably, The Hebrew Talisman also lends credibility to the notorious blood libel as the Wandering Jew, an accomplished magician, tells of an invaluable root called Baara which Jews use “to cast out evil demons from people possessed” (10). As it may “only be drawn from its parent earth, on being sprinkled with human blood”, the suggestion is made that Jews engage in ritual murder in order to secure it.

Historical evidence contradicts the assertion in The Hebrew Talisman that Jews were self-interested usurers who undermined British national interests. As Hannah Arendt has articulately shown, the fact that the Jews were a wealthy and influential, supra-national European group was actually crucial to the maintenance of national security throughout Europe (19). Associated initially with the aristocracy and later with the state, Jewish businessmen like the Rothschilds funded Britain during such national crises as the Napoleonic Wars and were — due to their role as individuals who were economically rather than nationally committed and aligned — crucial to negotiating peace treaties (20). The popular conception of their role, therefore, ran counter to historical fact. Although very few Jews held positions of political importance, their state connections and economic influence gave rise to the popular misconception that they were conspiratorial puppet-masters intent on undermining national interests.

As Michael Ragussis has extensively illustrated, this was the popular view of Benjamin Disraeli, Britain's Prime Minister from 1874 to 1880. He was “the crystallizing figure” in the debate over “the idea of ‘the secret Jew’ and the definition of English national identity” (13) in the 1870s. His “pro-Turkish, anti-Russian position” on the Eastern question at that time was considered by many to be “Jewish rather than English” in nature (210). This was the prevalent view despite the fact that, as Disraeli's modern biographers have agreed, his position represented the traditional and long-standing English policy on the Eastern question (210). Nonetheless, numerous caricatures of Disraeli during the

1870s present him as “an actor, showman, or magician who is caught in the act, a variation on the theme of the secret Jew whose mask is finally penetrated by the Inquisition” (205).¹⁰

Anxieties about the Crypto Jew and the Jewish Question spilled over into much fin-de-siècle literature. Although socio-political commentators like Arnold White proposed intermarriage as a resolution to the assimilation issue, great fears persisted with regard to this “remedy.” The sense that Jews — especially male Jews — were sexually perverse by racial orientation and that religious conversion could not alter this make-up pervaded much of the era's literature. Trollope's unwritten message in The Way We Live Now with regard to relationships between Christian British women and Jewish men is, unarguably, “put your good English daughters away!” Frank Danby's popular 1887 work Dr. Phillips: A Maida Vale Idyll carries on this crusade at the fin de siècle. Frank Danby was actually the pseudonym of Julia Frankau, a Dublin-born Jewess and converted Christian who was raised by Karl Marx's daughter, Mrs. Paul Lafargue. As her brother, James Davis, was “a journalist, dramatist, and composer of comic operas” (Zatlin 97) and her sister was Eliza Aria, a “journalist who became Irving's *chère amie* during the last seven or eight years of his life” (Gross 160-161), Frankau had probably even met Bram Stoker. She published four novels dealing with Jews in her lifetime, all of which denigrated them and targetted what she felt was the wide-scale problem of Jewish materialism. Dr. Phillips relates the tale of an ambitious Jewish doctor who keeps a Christian mistress. Knowing that he is the beneficiary of his wife's will, he kills her, only to find that his mistress has left him for another man. As in Stoker's Dracula, one of the primary suggestions in Frankau's novel is that Jewish men are lascivious adulterers who may convert Christian women into prostitutes. In keeping with anti-Semitic stereotypes, Dr. Phillips marries for money and in one telling passage Frankau relates how “the luxurious prostitution of his marriage had developed in him an Eastern virility that brooked no denial” (77).

Other anti-Semitic ideas were current in the literature of Stoker's day. H. Rider Haggard disseminates such ideas in She, for example, when he portrays the fin de siècle as "Jewish" in nature. He makes allusion to "the Jews whom everybody 'wants' nowadays" (63), and foregrounds the fact that his primary female character Ayesha was driven into the wilderness by Jews (148). Although Ayesha shares some characteristics of the Wandering Jew as she "tarries" until the man she once loved in ancient Egypt returns again (149), she functions as the vehicle through which Haggard condemns the Jews. She describes this people as Christ-killers (148), and mocks them for their lack of belief in the possibility of spiritual resurrection (149).

Within the domain of Gothic literature, the villainous Jew also rears his head in works by Oscar Wilde, George Du Maurier, and Marie Corelli, three writers with whom Stoker was personally acquainted. It is striking that in all three works, this character poses a special threat to upstanding British womanhood. In Oscar Wilde's The Picture of Dorian Gray (1891), he appears as the Calibanesque "hideous Jew" theatre manager (80, 48) to whom the "sacred" Sibyl Vane (51) is effectively enslaved by debt. Borrowing from Wilde, Marie Corelli's own Lady Sibyl in The Sorrows of Satan, "the biggest best-seller of the nineteenth century" (Wheeler 1985: 163), is a vital commodity in her father's business transactions with Jews. Shortly before her suicide, Sibyl discovers that her father

... was crippled on all sides with debt — that he lived on advances made to him by Jew usurers, — and that these advances were trusted to him solely on the speculation that ... [she], his only daughter, would make a sufficiently rich marriage to enable him to repay all loans with heavy interest. (403-4)

Corelli's feature character and personal mouthpiece in The Sorrows of Satan is none other than Satan who, although an accursed immortal like the Wandering Jew (121), often spouts venomous anti-Semitic statements. In his worldview, the fin de siècle is dominated by Jewish Shylock-like merchants who are unfairly protected by God (121). Provoked by a

sense of injustice, Corelli's Mephistophelean Satan articulates his theory to his next prospective victim, Geoffrey Tempest:

By the way, have you noticed how the legended God still appears to protect the house of Israel? Particularly the "base usurer" who is allowed to get the unhappy Christian into his clutches nine times out of ten? And no remedy drops from heaven! The Jew always triumphs. Rather inconsistent isn't it, on the part of an equitable Deity! (121)

The Gothic Jew also makes an appearance in George Du Maurier's 1894 novel Trilby. The mesmerizing Svengali is another deceptive, theatre-associated man "of Jewish aspect, well-featured but sinister" (11), who threatens to reduce the upstanding British "angel in the house" to the status of seductress. Described by Stoker's longstanding friend Du Maurier as "a sticky, haunting, long, lean, uncanny, black spider-cat, if there is such an animal outside a bad dream" (84), Svengali is clearly a relative of Stoker's animalistic Count. In fact, with his "big yellow teeth baring themselves in a mongrel canine snarl" and his ability to "oppress ... and weigh ... on ... [Trilby] like an incubus" (104), Svengali's resemblance to Stoker's own nightmarish incubus is particularly remarkable.¹¹

The description of Immanuel Hildesheim, the only overtly Jewish character in Stoker's Dracula, provides some sense of Stoker's own anti-Semitism. While this character does not lust after blood, he is certainly money-hungry. A "stereotypical Semitic middleman" (McBride 117) who unwittingly aids Dracula in his return to Transylvania from England by receiving his coffin at Galatz, Hildesheim has a distinctly Jewish physiognomy and is, like Wilde's Jew in The Picture of Dorian Gray and Du Maurier's Svengali, also associated with the theatre. As Jonathan Harker describes him, he is "a Hebrew of rather the Adelphi type, with a nose like a sheep, and a fez".¹² Almost predictably, when the men try to extract information from Hildesheim regarding the whereabouts of Dracula's "box," they discover that bribery is a successful approach: "His arguments were pointed with specie — we doing all the punctuation — and with a little

bargaining he told us what he knew" (349). Hildesheim has a similar cameo role in Dracula to that played by the Jewish merchant who sells Ambrosio the portrait of the Madonna in Lewis's The Monk. Like him, Hildesheim is also revealed to be in league with the devil. Dracula's avaricious ethnic blood brother, he aids in this demon vampire's escape.

Various established anti-Semitic stereotypes and contemporary anxieties about the Jewish Question in Britain inform the portrait of Count Dracula. Stoker's "occidental tourist" (Arata 621) hails from Eastern Europe, the region from which thousands of Jews, fleeing pogroms and persecution, were emigrating throughout the fin de siècle (Zanger 34). A voracious scholar who is well-informed about England prior to his arrival in the country, Dracula adheres to the traditional stereotype of the Jews as "the people of the Book" (Blau 5). His diversified knowledge in the legal, medical, political, and military professions is applauded by Van Helsing (302). Law, Harker's foremost domain of interest, is a profession which had been long associated with the Jews. In his co-authored publication, The Jew in London: A Study of Racial Character and Present-Day Conditions (1900), C. Russell notes:

The Jews have always been "a nation of students." The Talmud sets the scholar above the king; and a thorough training in Hebrew is still held a matter of the highest importance. Five is recognised as the proper age at which a child should begin to study the Law ... (28-9)

Capping off Dracula's association with the law, Jonathan Harker notes that a copy of the Law List is among the Count's many reference books (19), and Harker also states that Dracula "would have made a wonderful solicitor" (31).

Like Hildesheim, Dracula is Mammon-obsessed and has a stereotypical Jewish physiognomy. Apart from his sinister "pointed beard" (137) — a popular aspect of the physiognomy of the devil, a figure with whom the Jews were traditionally associated (Russell 1986: 160, 164) — great care is taken to describe Dracula's nose which is

strongly “aquiline” (17), “hooked” (137), and “beaky” (172).¹³ A passage from Stoker’s Personal Reminiscences of Henry Irving illustrates that Stoker associated this type of nose with Jewishness. In his description of his employer, Henry Irving, as he applied his make-up for the part of Shylock, Stoker notes that he “could never really understand ... how the bridge of the nose under painting [make-up] ... rose into the Jewish aquiline” (1906: I.140; emphasis added).

Dracula also has a distinct and pungent odor (19; 47) similar to the foetor judaicus long attributed to the Jews (Osborne 129). One of the men who moves Dracula’s requisite fifty cases of earth into Dracula’s “mediaeval” Carfax estate (23) comments that one “might ‘ave smelled ole Jerusalem in it” (228; emphasis added). Harker’s description of the foul odour in Dracula’s Carfax lair is especially noteworthy as it links Dracula’s physical and moral decadence. In his entry dated 1 October, 5 a.m., Harker writes:

There was an earthy smell, as of some dry miasma, which came through the fouler air. But as to the odour itself, how shall I describe it? It was not alone that it was composed of all the ills of mortality and with the pungent, acrid smell of blood, but it seemed as though corruption had become itself corrupt. Faugh! it sickens me to think of it. Every breath exhaled by that monster seemed to have clung to the place and intensified its loathsomeness.

Under ordinary circumstances such a stench would have brought our enterprise to an end; but this was no ordinary case, and the high and terrible purpose in which we were involved gave us a strength which rose above merely physical considerations. (251)

Dracula is essentially a social polluter who threatens to infect the British nation. He is often accompanied by rats (252, 279), a longstanding symbol of the plague. It was believed that Jews spread this and other infections while, thanks to demonic pacts made with the devil, they remained immune.¹⁴ Van Helsing makes much of the fact that Dracula has survived

plagues when he describes the Count as “[h]e that can smile at death, as we know him; who can flourish in the midst of diseases that kill off whole peoples” (321).

While Dracula is a blood brother to the Wandering Jews in the works of Lewis and Godwin, therefore, he is far more dark, supernatural, and anti-Christian. Dracula’s British alias, Count “de Ville” (273), betrays his anti-Christ role as does Van Helsing’s description of him as an “arrow in the side of Him [Christ] who died for man” (237). Moreover, Stoker’s Count is portrayed as simultaneously alien and alienated for his rejection of both love and Christ. Dracula’s cryptic retort to the female vampire trinity that he too once loved (39) suggests that those days are long past. Although Count Dracula is careful not to violate British law, he repeatedly violates Christian laws and assumes the role of demonic parasite.

Indeed, a thematics of the host is at work in Dracula. This theme incorporates several meanings of the word “host” and taps into religious and economic anxieties emanating from Dracula’s attempts at reverse imperialism. In religious terms, “host” has two primary meanings. It refers to the unleavened bread representing the body of Christ used for the Eucharist and, in the sense of the phrase “Heavenly Host,” it refers to an armed company or multitude of men. In biological terms, the word “host” refers to the living plant or animal in or upon which a parasite lives and obtains nourishment. Finally, the word “host” also refers to the “man who lodges and entertains another in his home.” These various meanings are conjoined in Dracula which essentially plays out the economic fear of a new parasitic and consumer “race” of alien Jews — as represented in the figure of Count Dracula — who will undermine their Christian British host nation. Dracula is a parasitic guest who is ultimately defeated by his British hosts.

Particularly through the character of Renfield, Dracula’s English religious follower and servant who awaits his “master’s” arrival from Transylvania, Stoker cleverly manipulates the Eucharistic notion that “the blood is the life.” In a rare moment of sanity, Renfield explains how he once interpreted this idea in a literal way:

I used to fancy that life was a positive and perpetual entity, and that by consuming a multitude of live things, no matter how low in the scale of creation, one might indefinitely prolong life. At times I held the belief so strongly that I actually tried to take human life. The doctor here will bear me out that on one occasion I tried to kill him for the purpose of strengthening my vital powers by the assimilation with my own body of his life through the medium of his blood — relying, of course, upon the Scriptural phrase, “For the blood is the life.” (234)

Renfield's statements hearken back to Joshua Trachtenberg's delineation of the philosophy of blood consumption attributed to medieval heretics, witches, and Jews (215). Renfield's reductive, literal interpretation of this “Scriptural phrase” is clearly anti-Christian in nature. His desecration of this sacred concept is, in fact, traditionally attributed to the Jews. This desecration is shown to be central to Dracula's vampire religion as the vampire's consumption of actual blood provides him with life. Indeed, in his particular love of the blood of children (39) — a taste which Lucy later acquires once she is transformed into the Bloofer Lady (178) — Count Dracula enacts the traditional blood libel crime ascribed to the Jews.

This violation is also carried over to the more secular meaning of the word host. At the beginning of the novel, Dracula is frequently described as the host to Jonathan Harker (17, 24). After exploiting Harker's legal expertise in order to gain access to England, Dracula's new host nation, Dracula violates his role as Harker's host by leaving this young solicitor in the hands of his voracious female vampire harem. As Harker relates his last vision of his demonic host, “The last I saw of Count Dracula he was kissing his hand to me, with a red light of triumph in his eyes, and with a smile that Judas in Hell might be proud of” (50). This allusion resuscitates the Jew as Christ-killer motif of which the Wandering Jew legend forms an essential part. It also foregrounds Dracula's parasitism. Judas, otherwise known as the arch-traitor, effectively received blood money — money

obtained at the cost of another's life — when he betrayed Jesus with a kiss for thirty pieces of silver.

A blood-money theme is deftly manipulated throughout Dracula and underpins Stoker's critique of the changing face of British capitalism at the fin de siècle. Essentially, Stoker's novel distinguishes between two prevalent types of capitalism which had been respectively codified and classified in a variety of British historical documents as "Christian" and "Jewish." This distinction dates back as far as the sixteenth century when "the anonymous author of The Death of Usury attempt[ed] to distinguish between acceptable and exorbitant interest rates ... [where] the Jews exemplif[ied] the latter" (Shapiro 99). Perhaps the best, more recent description of these varying forms is found in Max Weber's classic work, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism. He outlines how:

To the English Puritans, the Jews of their time were representatives of that type of capitalism which was involved in war, Government contracts, State monopolies, speculative promotions, and the construction and financial projects of princes, which they themselves condemned. In fact the difference may, in general, with the necessary qualifications, be formulated: that Jewish capitalism was speculative pariah-capitalism, while the Puritan was bourgeois organization of labour. (271)¹⁵

Weber draws a further distinction between these two forms by designating Christian capitalism "the rational capitalistic organization of (formally) free labour" (21), and Jewish capitalism as "predominantly of an irrational and speculative character, or directed to acquisition of force, above all the acquisition of booty, whether directly in war or in the form of continuous fiscal booty by exploitation of subjects" (20). While Christian commerce is represented, therefore, as rational and productive, Jewish commerce is regarded as a form of gambling or a type of criminal activity as it is irrational, usurious, and unproductive.¹⁶ Weber adds a final distinction to his portrait by opposing the flashy

Jewish merchant to the Christian-Puritan capitalist who “avoids ostentation and unnecessary expenditure ... [and] is embarrassed by the outward signs of the social recognition which he receives” (71).

An examination of Count Dracula in the light of contemporary anxieties about powerful, usurious Jews, and in connection to the distinction Weber draws between Jewish and Christian capitalism, locates him firmly in Weber’s speculative Jewish capitalist camp. Dracula loves bloody war (29) and is distressed over what he refers to as “these days of dishonourable peace” (30) in his native land. The nature of his investments are also typically “Jewish” as he purchases London real estate as opposed to commercial enterprises. His capitalist activities are, therefore, considered to be unproductive as opposed to productive.

Stoker’s clever equation of money and blood particularly illuminates Dracula’s fearsome aspect as an exploitative Jewish merchant. These associations are, rather significantly, central to William Shakespeare’s The Merchant of Venice, a play Stoker knew exceptionally well as his employer, acclaimed English actor Henry Irving, “is said to have played Shylock over a thousand times” (Gross 147). Shylock “was the part ... [Irving] chose for his last appearance at the Lyceum in 1902, and the part he had been due to play the night after he collapsed and died in Bradford in 1905” (Gross 147). What is of interest is that Irving revolutionized the role of Shylock on the nineteenth-century stage as he rendered the merchant in a sympathetic way. As John Gross relates, “Irving’s most important decision was to portray him as a victim, even in his villainy” (146-147).¹⁷ Several literary critics and Stoker’s most recent biographer, Barbara Belford, have argued that Irving, owner of the Lyceum Theatre for which Stoker was the manager, was a hard taskmaster who provided the model for Count Dracula.¹⁸

In terms of his capitalist activities, Count Dracula shares much in common with Shylock, the cut-throat, knife-wielding, usurious Jewish merchant. Both may be described as money-wolves. Indeed, the lupine (IV.i.73) Shylock whose “desires / Are wolvisch,

bloody, starv'd, and ravenous" (IV.i.137-8), is similar to Count Dracula who has claw-like hands with hairy palms (18), and controls wolves (13, 45, 49). As Harker learns shortly after his arrival in Transylvania, the laws of vampirism could in fact be rendered in Shylock's famous words: "I will buy with you, sell with you, talk with you, walk with you and so following; but I will not eat with you, drink with you, nor pray with you" (I.3.33-35). Ironically, this figurative big bad wolf in sheep's clothing cunningly neglects to inform Harker that he may attempt a "black mass" by converting Harker's "body [into] a banquet" (51).

Given that victims of vampire attacks become vampires themselves, Dracula's menace carries with it the threat to convert Harker to the Count's demonic religion. The threat of Judaization, or what the Germans referred to as "Verjudung" (Rose 44), was represented in 1840s Germany primarily in economic terms. Jewish economic practises were described as a form of parasitic usury that was rapidly infecting "Christian" capitalism. This representation shares many points of contact with Stoker's Dracula and British anti-Semitism at the fin de siècle. As Moses Hess delineated in his 1843 work, The Essence of Money, cannibalistic capitalism, a Jewish specialty, was consuming the nation:

We find ourselves at the apex of the social animal world; we are now social beasts of prey.... We are no longer herbivores like our gentle ancestors.... We are bloodsuckers.... Man enjoys his life in the form of money in a brutal, bestial, cannibalistic way. Money is social blood, but alienated spilled blood.

In the natural history of the social animal world the Jews had the world-historical mission of developing the beast of prey in mankind and they have now completed their task. The mystery of Judaism and Christianity has been revealed in the modern Jewish-Christian peddler-world. The mystery of the blood of Christ, like that of the ancient Jewish

reverence for blood, appears now finally unveiled as the mystery of the beast of prey. (Rose 50)

Hess's words echo those of Karl Marx who states in chapter ten of Das Kapital that "Capital is dead labour which, vampire-like, lives only by sucking living labour, and lives the more, the more labour it sucks" (qtd. in Gelder 20).¹⁹ Like Hess, Marx characterized this age of extreme capitalism as Jewish in nature. In his unsettling work, "On the Jewish Question," published in the same year as Hess's The Essence of Money, Marx made the joint declarations that "Money is the jealous god of Israel, beside which no other god may exist", and "The god of the Jews has been secularized and has become the god of this world" (37). Marx's explanation of the nature of the problem and its solution runs as follows:

What is the profane basis of Judaism? Practical need, self-interest.
What is the wordly cult of the Jew? Huckstering. What is his worldly god?
Money.

Very well: then in emancipating itself from huckstering and money,
and thus from real and practical Judaism, our age would emancipate itself.
(34)

Discerning in Judaism "a universal antisocial element of the present time" (34), Marx advocated the destruction of this Mammon-based religion. Only then, he argued, could society regain its health.

While the writings of Hess and Marx are extremely resonant for Stoker's Dracula in which the vampire threatens to subvert the British nation, there is a crucial point of difference in Stoker's vision. Hess and Marx were socialists who regarded all forms of capitalism as detrimental to Europe. Their equation of Jewishness and exploitative capitalism is tremendously problematic as Jews were not representative of the middle-class — many were poor and merely a handful were wealthy — and they rarely invested in the primary middle-class enterprise of manufacturing. The proposed solution of purging

society of its “Jewishness” signified the destruction of capitalism in all of its forms. For Stoker, however, the Weberian distinction between “good” Protestant and “bad” Jewish capitalism was fully operative. Delineating the exact nature of these moral and immoral capitalist forms is crucial to understanding *Dracula*’s economic critique.

As Stephen Arata has illustrated, the fin de siècle witnessed an erosion of confidence in British progress and hegemony (622). This occurred as a result of several factors, including the “decay of British global influence, the loss of overseas markets for British goods, the economic and political rise of Germany and the United States, the increasing unrest in British colonies and possessions, [and] the growing domestic uneasiness over the morality of imperialism” (622). Compounding these economic problems and anxieties was the emergence of a new and suspect form of capitalism. E.J. Hobsbawm has explained how a new phase of capitalism had begun to emerge in fin-de-siècle Britain where “combination [was] advanced at the expense of market competition, business corporations at the expense of private firms, big business and large enterprise at the expense of smaller” (44). Although Hobsbawm designates several labels for this new capitalist form — among them “corporation capitalism” and “organized capitalism” — perhaps the most longstanding and accessible description of it is “monopoly capitalism” (44). This new capitalist form went hand in hand with the growth of imperialism.

Suspicious about capitalism and its association with Jews, as earlier reflected in William Godwin’s *St. Leon*, increased at the fin de siècle. Notably, anti-Semitism flourished with the growth of monopoly capitalism and imperialism. Both capitalist modes were associated with the state which was, in turn, associated with Jewish investors and bankers. Indeed, state business was perceived to be driven by Jewish interests.²⁰ Anti-Semitism among the lower-middle classes also grew at this time as the bankers to whom the small shopkeepers were indebted were often Jewish. As Hannah Arendt illustrates, however, the popular view regarding the nature and extent of Jewish power was far removed from reality. The development of imperialism and the recognition of its lucrative

potential by non-Jewish capitalists, resulted in a significant shift in power where Jewish economic influence in the state was actually severely diminished. Furthermore, the prestige and power of the Jewish banking houses also declined. As Arendt notes, the “growing influence of big business on the state and the state’s declining need for Jewish services threatened the Jewish banker with extinction and forced certain shifts in Jewish occupations” (51). The popular representation of the Jew as a monopoly capitalist who ran the state by way of a secret government, however, persisted. It was fostered by both right- and left-wing groups across Europe.

In his assessment of Stoker’s Dracula, Franco Moretti argues that monopoly capitalism, a serious threat to free competition and individual liberty, was perceived in fin-de-siècle Britain as a “foreign threat” because British “monopolistic concentration was far less developed (for various economic and political reasons) than in the other advanced capitalist societies” (93) like the United States. In Moretti’s reading, Count Dracula — despite his national origins — is the symbolic embodiment of monopoly capitalism. As Moretti describes Stoker’s Count, “Dracula is a true monopolist: solitary and despotic, he will not brook competition.” (92). This foreign threat clearly endangers the future of free enterprise in Britain. In a recent essay, Robert Smart concurs with Moretti. He maintains that two narratives emerge in Stoker’s novel: the first is the domestic tale of the salvation of the Harkers and England, the other is “a morality tale about money” (253). As Smart describes it, the second story is “embedded more deeply in the structure of the novel, [and] is about money and free enterprise, wherein the dangers of monopoly — symbolized by the greedy Count Dracula — are successfully thwarted by the combined enterprise of a young band of entrepreneurs” (253-254). Smart also astutely underlines how the blood transactions in Dracula are vitally connected to the monetary transactions:

In the second story, blood is money, the “life substance” of a free economy. A free flow of money is vital to an evolved capitalist economy, while the concentration of money and capital in the hands of a few monopolists

staunches both free capital flow and movement up or down the socioeconomic ladder. (254)

The fundamental claim made by Moretti and Smart, namely that Dracula represents the threat of monopoly capitalism, seems indisputable given the blood and monetary transactions in the novel. The gold-hoarding Transylvanian Count only parts with his capital in England when he makes investments in London properties. His Mammonism is exhibited in a later episode where, when cornered by Van Helsing's crew in one of his haunts, he imperils himself attempting to recover some of his cash. This is a telling scene in which Dracula is represented as figuratively bleeding money when cut. After Harker cuts the cloth of Dracula's coat with his great Kukri knife (the very instrument which will shear Dracula's throat on his final day of reckoning, 377), a wide gap opens in it from "whence a bundle of bank-notes and a stream of gold ... [falls] out" (306). Dracula's avarice gets the better of him in this instance for, instead of attempting an immediate escape, he sweeps "under Harker's arm ere his blow could fall, and, grasping a handful of the money from the floor, [Dracula dashes] ... across the room, and ... [throws] himself at the window" (306). Such actions stand in stark contrast to what Mina Harker declares is the healthy monetary circulation practised by the wealthy Christian Englishman, Lord Godalming, and the American adventurer, Quincey Morris, who unreservedly finance the Dracula crusade. Just before setting off on Dracula's trail, Mina states:

Oh, it did me good to see the way that these brave men worked. How can women help loving men when they are so earnest, and so true, and so brave! And, too, it made me think of the wonderful power of money! What can it not do when it is properly applied; and what might it do when basely used! I felt so thankful that Lord Godalming is rich, and that both he and Mr. Morris, who also has plenty of money, are willing to spend it so freely. For if they did not, our little expedition could not start, either so promptly or so well equipped ... (356)

Mina's loaded words underline Stoker's economic critique about the polarized positive and negative ends to which money may be put. Count Dracula's self-interested, egoistic, monopolistic, and figuratively "Jewish" capitalistic practises battle against the selfless and charitable, "Christian" capitalist practises of Van Helsing and his "brotherhood." Two different types of transactions compete for domination: the Crusaders undertake a "transaction of life" (236; emphasis added) in order to defeat Dracula whose parasitic "transactions" are usually fatal.

These morally divergent uses of money, "the blood of civilization" (Osborne 131), are also reflected in the novel's complex blood transactions. While Dracula parasitically and perversely drains blood from his female victims, the Christian Brotherhood who oppose him are portrayed as martyrs who selflessly donate their blood in a series of hazardous transfusions undertaken to revive the vampire's victims. This blood battle also serves to illustrate how Dracula's monopolizing tendencies extend into the human and, more specifically, the sexual domain. Count Dracula's words to the Van Helsing brotherhood illuminates his aspirations to become a harem master in Britain. He taunts the men:

Your girls that you all love are mine already; and through them you and others shall yet be mine — my creatures, to do my bidding and to be my jackals when I want to feed. (306)

If nothing else, Dracula is a clever strategist who recognizes what his enemies consider to be valuable. Moreover, Dracula cunningly attacks England where Stoker intimates she is most vulnerable, namely in the female population.

As Moretti and Smart maintain, therefore, Count Dracula is a dreaded economic and sexual monopolist/imperialist. Subjecting Dracula to a Freudian psychoanalytic "reading between the lines," Moretti further illustrates how Protestantism displaces anxieties about its own tendencies by projecting them onto an "Other." He argues that Dracula is a

consummate Protestant who represents the dreaded advent of monopoly capitalism in Europe. According to Moretti:

Dracula (unlike Vlad the Impaler, the historical Dracula, and all other vampires before him) does not like spilling blood: he needs blood. He sucks just as much as is necessary and never wastes a drop. His ultimate aim is not to destroy the lives of others according to whim, to waste them, but to use them. Dracula, in other words, is a saver, an ascetic, and upholder of the Protestant ethic. (91)

Moretti maintains that, as the nineteenth-century British middle class could not imagine monopoly as the future face of capitalism, it was represented in the figure of Count Dracula as “the tyranny of feudal monopoly” (93). Stephen D. Arata offers a similar psychoanalytic reading when he argues that “in Dracula the British characters see their own ideology reflected back as a form of bad faith, since the Count’s Occidentalism both mimics and reverses the more familiar Orientalism underwriting Western imperial practices” (634).

While such readings are provocative and legitimate, in failing to recognize the Count’s ethnic association, they overlook the complex semiotics of “Othering” in Stoker’s novel. In keeping with established tradition, the word “Jew” may be described as a “wandering” signifier for it is versatile in its meaning to the point where it may signify two entirely oppositional ideas. Connecting the signifier “Jew” to Count Dracula, H.L. Malchow writes:

Like Dracula, the “Jew” can take a variety of forms. He can be both eternal threat and eternal victim, Judas and the Wandering Jew Ahasuerus, capitalist and sweated proletarian, masculine roué and feminized (sic) homosexual, white and black. (149-150)

The term “Jew” speaks to, among other issues, economic and religious questions in Dracula: the Count is representative of Christianity’s repressed religious past — which is figured as jointly barbaric and superstitious — and the dreaded face of modern monopoly

capitalism. Dracula does not adhere, therefore, to the predominant trend in Gothic literature where the Catholic Church is the principal bogey which is ultimately defeated by liberal Protestantism.²¹

My claim is that Stoker's Dracula speaks to two conjoined fears about the British nation and the role of the Jews at the fin de siècle — the “invasion” of Britain by Eastern European Jews who were generally regarded as a financial drain on the nation, and the potential subversion of Britain by resident Anglo-Jews. This dual reading explains Dracula's role both as a vampire who attempts to drain the British nation, and as an aristocrat who invests in British real estate. Although Dracula's established, influential Anglo-Jewish counterparts were not aristocrats, they had been long associated — in keeping with the tradition of the “Court Jew” (Schulte-Sasse 199) who “financed state affairs and handled the financial transactions of their princes” (Arendt 14) — with this segment of society. Moreover, like Count Dracula, Anglo-Jews transacted legitimate, legal investments. In the growing right-wing nationalistic landscape of the British fin de siècle, however, such investments were sometimes regarded as criminal and parasitic, and secured by a group that would forever remain incontrovertibly alien. The concept of the “British Jew” was considered by many during Stoker's era — as my examination of the works of C. Russell, Sir Arnold White, and Beatrice Webb illustrates — to be nothing less than a contradiction in terms. As Hobsbawm explains, “in the period from 1880 to 1914, nationalism took a dramatic leap forward, and its ideological and political content was transformed” (142). As a novel tendency developed “to define a nation in terms of ethnicity and especially in terms of language” (144), nationalism increasingly became right-wing, anti-foreigner, anti-socialist, and anti-liberal (142). Within this worldview, minor distinctions were made between Anglo-Jews and Eastern European immigrant Jews; however, both were regarded as alien parasites whose investments in British properties, and employment in British enterprises, were considered to be a national liability.

The foremost concern about the Jews in Britain — both the Anglo-Jews and the newly arrived Eastern European Jews — ostensibly involved their potential to assimilate. A more deep-seated suspicion and fear existed, however, namely that Jews were fundamentally unwilling to assimilate though they might pretend to convert in order to advance their own interests. Dracula's principal threat is that he is a chameleon alien in England. This aristocrat is startlingly rapid in his acculturation to his newly adopted homeland. Before even visiting England, his English is, as Jonathan notes, "excellent", and his voracious appetites extend, as his library clearly attests, to knowing all things English (19). After his arrival in England, when he is first spotted by Jonathan Harker on the streets of London, Dracula does not appear to be a foreigner (172). He is extremely adept at passing for a British native. It is intriguing, however, that while Stoker erases Dracula's national difference in this scene, he does not extinguish his moral difference. This is, as Mina notes when she sees Dracula for the first time, inscribed on the Count's physiognomy. Rather appropriately given his lupine associations, Mina's description of Dracula is reminiscent of the Big Bad Wolf: his "face was not a good face; it was hard, and cruel, and sensual, and his big white teeth, that looked all the whiter because his lips were so red, were pointed like an animal's" (172). What seems to be suggested by this scene, however, is that even good British Christians like Mina and her husband may have trouble recognizing the disguised Count Dracula as he lurks around London. Looking like one of them, Dracula and his "big white teeth" are "all the better to convert them with, my dear!" As Van Helsing relates, the threat of conversion, of becoming "as him [Dracula] ... without heart or conscience, preying on the bodies and the souls of those we love best" (237) is a foremost fear. Dracula plays out two similar fears regarding the loss of national/ethnic differences: the annihilation of the Count's difference from British natives is mirrored in the fear of their reverse conversion by the Count. The apparently assimilated, parasitic "Other" may ultimately threaten to convert the unsuspecting hosts.

Dracula threatens to convert/Judaize Christian Britons by way of his very semiotically-loaded bite. As the case of Lucy Westenra illustrates, Dracula's Christian victims who are repeatedly bitten become prey to physical, mental, sexual, and moral decadence. They essentially assume the characteristics associated with the Jews at the fin de siècle. Indeed, Britons do not even have to be bitten in order to be affected by Dracula. As the members of the Crew of Light discover, simply having contact with the Count induces hysteria (103, 174). As I will illustrate, a variety of contemporary pseudo-scientific treatises linked degeneration, mental illness, and syphilis specifically to the Jew.

The figure of the Wandering Jew played a significant role in fuelling the already established fires of anti-Semitism at the fin-de-siècle. It was at this stage that he wandered into the annals of European psychiatric literature. In a medical thesis published in 1893, Henry Meige, a student of Dr. Jean Martin Charcot, the head of Paris's prestigious Salpêtrière School and a figure who is mentioned by Van Helsing in Stoker's novel in relation to hypnosis (191)²², had fostered a new image of the Wandering Jew as a psychopathologised type (Goldstein 541). Deploying what came to be known as "retrospective medicine," Meige argued that the bulk of the content of legends derived "from straightforward 'observations of material facts'". In other words, "what the folk authors had been observing" in the case of the Wandering Jew, was "a medical reality" (542). As Meige outlined, the restless wanderings of the Jewish race had "not been caused supernaturally, as punishment for their role as Christ-killers, but rather naturally, by their strong propensity to nervous illness" (543). Making "a virtual career out of being patients" (542), these eternal wanderers were searching for a cure for their nervous afflictions. Sceptical about medicine and maligned as overly-preoccupied with their psychological and physiological selves, they travelled extensively from one doctor to another soliciting medical opinions about their neurotic ailments. Capping off this fictional portrait with a sleight of hand worthy of a Gothic novelist, Meige explicitly analogized "the scepticism of

such patients to the crime of the Wandering Jew: refusal to believe in medical power was tantamount to that fateful refusal to believe in the divinity of Christ" (542).

Bram Stoker's representation of the Count suggests this psychopathologised Wandering Jew as he "unnerve[s]" the men who come into contact with him (248). Dracula's association with madness is emphasized by the fact that Renfield, the Count's foremost adherent in England, worships his "master" from inside Dr. Seward's insane asylum. Literalising the Scriptural phrase "the blood is the life" and engaging in demonic Black Masses with a variety of living creatures, Renfield is significantly described as suffering from something "like religious mania" (100; emphasis added). The threat of insanity spreads, however, as the novel progresses. Dr. John Seward initially fears that Van Helsing's "mind can have become ... unhinged" (204), and once he and the other Crusaders become engaged in the hunt for Dracula, Seward fears that "we must be all mad and ... we shall wake to sanity in strait-waistcoats" (274). As Lucy Westenra's nocturnal walks in Whitby illustrate, the vampire's bite also occasions somnambulistic wandering in his victims (who do manage, ironically, to garner several doctors' opinions as to the origin of their neuroses). The formulation of this psychopathologised type suggests pseudoscientific embroidering on the traditional stereotype of the Jew as a neurotic wanderer. While the Archives israélites responded to Meige's claim arguing that Jewish wandering was a result of long-term, systematic persecution (545), many prominent European psychiatrists argued that due to generations of inbreeding, Jews were more prone to mental illness than other groups (Chamberlin and Gilman 291).

Fin-de-siècle pseudo-scientific treatises on degeneration and criminality also fostered racially-based anti-Semitic ideas that are current in Dracula. Mina deduces, for example, that "The Count is a criminal and of criminal type, Nordau and Lombroso would so classify him, and qua criminal he is of imperfectly formed mind" (342). Despite the fact that Max Nordau was himself a Hungarian Jew — in fact he was "one of Zionism's founding fathers" (Shimoni 103) — in works like Degeneration where he outlined the

proximity of genius and insanity, he argued that Jews were different from their Christian neighbours and more prone to insanity and moral and physical degeneration (Chamberlin and Gilman 292). Although his claims were not racially based — he maintained that social pressures and persecutions rather than biology predisposed the Jew to insanity — he nonetheless produced material that was put to anti-Semitic use. This use of his evidence seems deeply ironic as Nordau consistently maintained that European anti-Semitism attested to “European society’s retreat from rational liberalism into irrational degeneracy” (Shimoni 101). Lombroso, Nordau’s “Dear and Honoured Master” to whom he dedicated Degeneration, also furnished “scholarly” material that was readily put to anti-Semitic use. At the fin de siècle, Lombroso endeavoured to outline the physical characteristics of the criminal and, especially due to the shape of Dracula’s nose, would have deduced that the Count was a criminal, a child-like throwback to an earlier stage of human development. According to Lombroso, the criminal’s nose “is often aquiline like the beak of a bird of prey” (Wolf 1993: 403 n.25).²³ Such material fed into established anti-Semitic stereotypes.²⁴

The serious, often fatal, and prevalent sexually-transmitted disease of syphilis was also used to fuel anti-Semitism at the fin de siècle. Jews had been closely related to the spread and incidence of syphilis since the fifteenth century when the disease first appeared in Europe where it was “commonly called the Peste of the Marranos” (Gilman 1993: 61). As Sander Gilman relates, “literature on syphilis in the nineteenth century contains a substantial discussion of the special relationship of Jews to the transmission and meaning of syphilis” (Gilman 61). Joseph Banister’s anti-Semitic work England Under the Jews (1901) charges Jews with the spread of various “blood and skin diseases” (61). The fin de siècle was a period of intense moral panic when, in the face of shocking numbers of syphilitics, doctors predicted “the unavoidable ‘syphilisation’ of the Western world” (Showalter 1990: 188). The terror of contracting syphilis reached such epidemic proportions that the word “syphilophobia” was coined to describe this pathological fear. In

this regard, it is noteworthy that syphilis specifically symbolized domestic disease in the nineteenth century. As Elaine Showalter explains, “Whereas in the Renaissance syphilis functioned as a religious symbol of the disease in the spirit, and during the Restoration became a political metaphor for the disease in the state, fin-de-siècle English culture treats it as a symbol of the disease in the family” (1986: 89).

Stoker’s representation of vampirism clearly taps into contemporary syphilophobia. The Count imperils Christian British family values as he infects and transforms upright British women into sexually aggressive anti-mothers. Indeed, Stoker’s Gothic narrative features an intriguing association between the Jew and the prostitute who were regarded, in the popular worldview of the period, as syphilis carriers.²⁵ Images of vampire women were ubiquitous in fin-de-siècle culture where they generally represented gold-digging, syphilitic prostitutes (Dijkstra 351). Bram Dijkstra’s description of the symbolic significance of female vampires illuminates the dynamic between Dracula and the sexually voracious, polyandrous women in Stoker’s novel:

By 1900 the vampire had come to represent woman as the personification of everything negative that linked sex, ownership, and money. She also came to represent the equally sterile lust for gold of woman as the eternal polyandrous prostitute. She was the absinth drinker, her fever for the gold of man’s essence fed by her addiction, who was seen by Félicien Rops as lurking in the alleyways of Paris. She was the woman cloaked in darkness who beckoned man to his death (351)

Like Dracula, whose “sexualised” bite usually results in death, seductive fin-de-siècle prostitutes could transmit deadly syphilis through sexual intercourse.

The semiotic connection between Jews and prostitutes is actually a convention that dates back to, at least, the sixteenth century when “Jewish usury was likened to the practice of female prostitution”. As one observer then reported, “the ‘bestly trade of courtesans and cruel trade of Jews is suffered for gain’ in Italy; both ‘suck from the meanest to be

squeezed by the greatest'” (Shapiro 99). Sander Gilman's chapter on Jack the Ripper in The Jew's Body examines the traditional “deviant” coupling of the Jew and the prostitute on the margins of polite society. Posing “‘dangers’ to the economy, both fiscal and sexual, of the state” (120) as they “represent[ed] a realm of exchange divorced from production” (Gallagher 43), the prostitute and the Jew were united as heartless “lovers of filthy lucre” (Shapiro 1996: 99). Their perversion lay in their “sexualized relationship to capital”²⁶ which entailed regarding money “as a substitute for higher values, for love and beauty” (Gilman 1991: 124).

Stoker's loveless, Mammon-worshipping Count (47) is similar to the economically unproductive (parasitic) Jewish pimp who poses fiscal and sexual dangers to the British nation. While there are no prostitutes *per se* in Dracula, Lucy's New Woman-style, polyandrous inclination to marry three men (59) foreshadows her vampiric transformation into the “Bloofer Lady,” a supreme and terrifying anti-mother who preys on children in and around Hampstead Heath (178). As The Westminster Gazette report in Dracula makes clear, these children are like Jack the Ripper's murder victims: both sets of victims went missing at night and were discovered with their throats slightly torn or wounded (177).²⁷ Responding to the unconscious desires of British women — those creatures popularly referred to as lilies²⁸ and “angels in the house” — Dracula converts them into creatures/ladies of the night. It is noteworthy that Lucy's metamorphosis into the seductive, prostitute-like “Bloofer Lady” is presaged by the series of blood transfusions undertaken by Dracula's opponents. Van Helsing explains that this act of blood-mixing is a form of sexual/marital transaction which transforms the “sweet maid” Lucy into a “polyandrist” (176).²⁹ Rather fittingly, therefore, Dracula's female victims become monopolists like him once they are infected by the vampire's bite. Robert Smart has noted that Lucy's tendency towards polyandry is not unlike Dracula's monopolising tendency. While she yearns to monopolise all of the men, Dracula yearns to monopolise all of the

women. It is perhaps this tendency which initially attracts the Count to her. According to Smart:

... Lucy at one point jests in a letter to Mina that she wishes she could marry them all [her three suitors] and that the law should be changed to allow it. This is an unusual remark for a proper Victorian maid and may account for the ease with which she falls into Dracula's power. She has the acquisitive instinct of the monopolist, something we do not see anywhere in Mina's character. (256)

Indeed, Mina does not exhibit the polyandrous, New Woman-associated tendencies we see in Lucy.

Although the proto-feminist New Woman is only actually mentioned twice in Stoker's novel (88, 89), she is a significant spectre haunting both that novel and the British fin de siècle. She was identified by her conservative critics, like Stoker, "variously with feminism, mannishness, promiscuity and decadence" (Blain et al 792). In terms of the gender ideology of the British fin-de-siècle, the New Woman was often viewed as monstrous. This view was articulated in the February 1887 issue of Lady's Realm magazine where the New Woman is specifically described as "this feminine Frankenstein" (Calder 164). Marie Corelli's The Sorrows of Satan (1895) singles out this "monster" for graphic and long-winded verbal attacks, and Stoker implies the inclusion of pen-wielding New Women in a scathing essay he published subsequent to Dracula. In "The Censorship of Fiction" (1908), an article he wrote for The Nineteenth Century & After, Stoker denounces the "class of works ... meant by both authors and publishers to bring to the winning of commercial success the forces of inherent evil in man" (485). He argues that the people involved in this venture "prostitute their talents" (487; emphasis added), and that women writers are "the worst offenders in this form of breach of moral law" (485).³⁰

Lucy Westenra represents this decadent, feminist, mannish, and promiscuous figure in Dracula. Given these attributes, she is appropriately matched with Stoker's

decadent Transylvanian Count. This demonic union becomes understandable when read in the light of social preoccupations in fin-de-siècle Britain. As Anthony Julius notes in his recent, provocative work, T.S. Eliot, Anti-Semitism, and Literary Form:

In late nineteenth-century Europe, misogyny and anti-Semitism were frequent partners. This alliance represented a reaction, in part, to a certain coincidence in demand by women and Jews for emancipation, especially in Germany and Austria. (19)

Although British Jews had gained emancipation by the time of Dracula's publication, other concerns existed regarding them, as I have outlined earlier in this chapter. Women and Jews were, however, "becoming more visible in the civic culture of Western Europe" at the fin de siècle (Gilman 1993: 83), and their dual threat was repeatedly represented in the cultural productions of that period. They stand united, for example, in the hugely popular work, Sex and Character (1903) by Viennese theorist Otto Weininger. In that disturbing publication, Weininger connects women — significantly described along traditional anti-Semitic lines as "human parasites" (Dijkstra 219; emphasis added) — with various "degenerate races," among them the Jews. According to Weininger, Judaism was "saturated with femininity" (220), and both women and Jews were decadent creatures devoid of any moral sensibility. As Weininger expressed it:

Greatness is absent from the nature of the woman and the Jew, the greatness of morality, or the greatness of evil. In the Aryan man, the good and bad principles of Kant's religious philosophy are ever present, ever in strife. In the Jew and the woman, good and evil are not distinct from one another. (221)

As Bram Dijkstra notes, "Many of his [Weininger's] ideas had already been elevated to the status of commonplaces among the intellectuals of the 1890s" (218). Furthermore, many of these intellectuals were British. Ford Madox Ford observed that Weininger's book "had spread through the serious male society of England as if it had been an epidemic" (218).

Stoker's polymorphously perverse Count and his seductive creatures of the night threaten to drain Britain of its vitality and infect its sacrosanct Christian "family values." This national infection involves the violation of various taboos — particularly sexual ones — which terrify Stoker's xenophobic, "gender-anxious culture" (Craft 219). That Count Dracula should engender these transgressions is fitting given his role as an arch-transgressor. The suggestion is made, for example, that the Count is related to two of the "weird sisters" (48) who attempt to attack Jonathan Harker in Dracula's Castle. Two are described as "dark ... [with] high aquiline noses, like the Count's (37). As Dracula may be said to be somewhat like Victor Frankenstein who single-handedly "fathers" his own offspring, he threatens to blur familial and sexual boundaries, distinctions fundamental to Stoker's Victorian society. As Clive Leatherdale cogently argues:

There exists in the book an endogamous motif which, other than the Count, links nearly all the main characters as members of one large, figurative family. Most couplings can be slotted into parent-child or brother-sister relationships. Even Dracula's harem approach Mina with the words "Come, sister." (174)

Notably, as I have illustrated in Chapter One, Jewish endogamy was often misrepresented as incest by anti-Semites. Dracula's figuratively Jewish "sexual" practises, therefore, threaten Christian Britain. Given Dracula's Crypto-Jewishness and the figuration of his encounters with Christian British women as sexually perverse and even fatally infectious, the threat of "racial"-religious miscegenation — specifically Jewish-Christian intercourse³¹ — also hangs over Stoker's novel. Moreover, although Dracula limits his attacks in England to women, he does attack men on board the Demeter, the ship that brings him to England (81-86).³² The suggestion of homosexuality would have struck a special chord with Stoker's 1897 readership in the light of the 1895 trial of Oscar Wilde.

The threat of the Crypto-Jew in Dracula not only involves the blurring of racial/religious boundaries but the erasure of sexual difference. While the Count

transforms feminine British lilies into mannish New Woman prostitutes, he feminizes British men. In psycho-sexual terms, virile British male Christians are threatened by the circumcised genitalia of the alien male Jew that, in the familiar racist folklore, are regarded as deviant and symbolically castrated.³³ This threat is especially foregrounded in Dracula's opening scenes in Transylvania. Imprisoned in Count Dracula's labyrinthine castle, and at the mercy of three sexually voracious vampire women who love raw babies as a midnight snack, Jonathan Harker assumes the female role in Stoker's novel. Nowhere is this made more obvious than in the desperate final lines of Harker's opening travelogue of terror when he writes, "At least God's mercy is better than that of these monsters, and the precipice is steep and high. At its foot man may sleep — as a man" (53; emphasis added). Upon his return to England, Harker reiterates that he "felt impotent, and in the dark, and distrustful" about whether his experiences in Transylvania were real or not (187-188; emphasis added).

This threat of emasculation is brought closer to home when Dracula immigrates to England. There, responding to deviant women like Lucy Westenra who possess voracious sexual and physical appetites which are generally attributed to the New Woman, Dracula begins to create his new race of phallic women who threaten castration. In a significant excerpt from Dr. Seward's diary, Lucy is described as possessing wrinkled brows "as though the folds of the flesh were the coils of Medusa's snakes" (212). The suggestion is later made that Mina's act of "changing" into a vampire also involves becoming Medusa-like. When Harker watches her sleeping, he remarks how her "forehead is puckered up into little wrinkles, as though she thinks even in her sleep" (267-268). According to Sigmund Freud in his essay "Medusa's Head" (1922), the snake-haired Medusa threatens men with castration. Her serpentine locks of hair are trophies of penises in horrified reaction to which men gain erections (273). Her gaze literally petrifies them. Although Freud fails to acknowledge it, however, petrification also involves feelings of overwhelming desire. Such ambivalence marks Harker's initial confrontation with the

female vampire trinity in Dracula's castle. As he relates this experience with these vagina dentata-style creatures:

There was something about them that made me uneasy, some longing and at the same time some deadly fear. I felt in my heart a wicked, burning desire that they would kiss me with those red lips. (37)

Notably, the two most popular phallic women (pseudo New Women) represented in Stoker's culture were Jewesses. Salome and Judith were notorious symbolic castrators who robbed men of their power and vampirically drained them of their sexual potency by decapitating them.³⁴ As Bram Dijkstra notes, they signified the epitome of degeneracy in Stoker's day:

Salome and Judith were both Jewish women, as the intellectuals of the turn of the century did not tire of pointing out. As such, they combined the crimes of women with those of a "degenerate race." If women's prosaic, everyday presence made it impossible for most men to maintain a constant sense of enmity toward them, the Jew was still there, guilty of the same crimes as women. (401)

As Salome had demanded the decapitation of St. John the Baptist, she was regarded as particularly anti-Christian in her transgressive desires. Judith's Biblical role as "a paragon of self-sacrificial martyrdom for a noble cause" was, however, radically altered to meet the demands of the age (377). In the images of many "late nineteenth century painters, ... [Judith] is unmasked as a lustful predator, an anorexic tigress" (377). Lucy Westenra is sister to these symbolically castrating, power-hungry New Women. In the graphic staking and decapitation of Lucy, however, the tables are definitively turned on these diabolical female creatures in Stoker's Dracula, (215-218).

In the light of the conjoined Jewish menace and the advent of the proto-feminist New Woman's movement, Dracula functions as a type of ritually purgative text whose task is "to represent, externalize and kill off a distinct constellation of contemporary fears" (Pick

71). The fear of female prostitution and its multi-layered signification of sexual and monetary perversion is cunningly played out in Stoker's novel. These semiotic components were also at work in the literary and journalistic coverage of the Jack the Ripper murders which caused an incredible sensation in Stoker's day. Indeed, significant connections exist between Dracula and the Whitechapel murders which serve to illuminate the intensity of the semiotic coding and yoking of Jews and prostitutes in Britain at the fin de siècle. Like Dracula, the Ripper murders also had a "capacity to play out an elaborate repertoire of contemporary anxieties — from heterosexual violence, to the 'lavender menace,' to the specters of imperial and domestic industrial decline" (Walkowitz 4).

What must initially be noted is that Stoker consciously forged a connection between Dracula and Jack the Ripper. As Jean Goens has argued in Loups-Garous, Vampires et Autres Monstres, two greatly mythologised figures lurk in the shadows of the character of Count Dracula — Vlad the Impaler and Jack the Ripper. Concerning Stoker's inclusion of the 1888 Whitechapel murders, Goens writes:

En effet, dans le roman de Bram Stoker, Dracula quitte la Transylvanie pour aller commettre une série de crimes sanglants à Londres, durant l'automne d'une année non précisée de la fin du XIXe siècle. Jack L'Eventreur avait commis ses crimes en automne 1888, et l'auteur a certainement subi leur impact inconscient, tout en percevant sans doute l'intérêt commercial de l'exploitation littéraire de cette série sanglante. (83)

The year after the initial publication of his compelling thriller, Stoker was asked to write an English introduction to the novel's first foreign-language translation.³⁵ Entitled Makt Mykranna (Powers of Darkness), Dracula became available to Icelandic readers in 1901. The curious nature of this linguistic choice aside, Stoker's introduction to Makt Mykranna forges a significant connection between Dracula and the 1888 Whitechapel murders. Despite Jonathan Harker's closing note to the novel which foregrounds the unbelievable nature of the Dracula "manuscript" — he writes, "We could hardly ask anyone even did we

wish to, to accept these as proofs of so wild a story" (378) — Stoker effectively assumes his Count's role as a boundary-blurrier by extending his novel's crucial fiction-reality theme beyond its textual parameters in the introduction to the Icelandic edition. There, Stoker explains that "for obvious reasons, ... [he] changed the names of the people and places concerned". He makes the further claim that "Both Jonathan Harker and his wife (who is a woman of character) and Dr. Seward are ... [his] friends and have been for so many years, and ... [he] never doubted that they were telling the truth" (1898: 8). Finally, Stoker attempts to place his narrative within an actual historical context. Referring to Dracula's demonic London transactions, he writes:

I state again that this mysterious tragedy which is here described is completely true in all its external respects, though naturally I have reached a different conclusion on certain points than those involved in the story. But the events are incontrovertible, and so many people know of them that they cannot be denied. This series of crimes has not yet passed from the memory — a series of crimes which appear to have originated from the same source, and which at the time created as much repugnance in people everywhere as the notorious murders of Jack the Ripper ... (1898: 7-8)³⁶

That the Jack the Ripper serial prostitute slayings should be mentioned in connection with Dracula is not surprising. This reference directly contradicts Stoker's grand-nephew's claim that "there is no hint in the novel [Dracula] or any of his writings of either the Ripper's violence or the subsequent panic" (Farson 152). It serves, in fact, to support various critical claims by such writers as Grigore Nandris, Phyllis Roth, Clive Leatherdale, and Bernard Davies, that the Ripper was significant to Stoker's creation of Dracula. Curiously, fiction and reality actually did overlap to some degree for, as Belford relates, 1888 was not only "the year Jack the Ripper terrorized Whitechapel, bringing evil into the drawing rooms of Mayfair and Kensington", it was also the year in which Stoker

first conceptualized Dracula, “a story that would intermingle Shakespeare’s dark psychology with contemporary evils” (202).

In the light of their roles as bloodthirsty sexual predators, Dracula and Jack the Ripper may be described as blood brothers. Indeed, the depictions of the Ripper provided by contemporary commentators illustrate just how semiotically consanguineous London’s degenerate serial killer and Dracula were. As Judith Walkowitz relates in her study City of Dreadful Delight: Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late-Victorian London:

Faced with a “senseless crime,” press commentary invoked the figure of the Gothic sex beast, a “man monster” motivated by “bloodthirsty lust” who “goes forth stealthily and takes his victims when and where he already pleases,” akin to the “were wolf” of “Gothic fiction.” Declared the Daily Telegraph, “we are left ... to form unpleasant visions of roving lunatics distraught by homicidal mania or bloodthirsty lust ... or finally we may dream of monsters, or ogres.” (197)

The nature of the Ripper and his crimes also bears strong resemblances to Count Dracula’s attacks on British women:

... [the Ripper’s] “lust murders” and sexual mutilations of prostitutes were ... unnatural alternatives to heterosexual copulation.... Often imagined as a seasoned urban traveler, the Ripper could move effortlessly and invisibly through the spaces of London, transgressing all boundaries, committing “his” murderous acts in public, under the cover of darkness, exposing the private parts of “public women” to open view. (3)

Similarly, Stoker’s protean Count, another seasoned traveler, exports vampirism — an unnatural alternative to heterosexual copulation that involves mutilation — to England, and exposes women’s private, repressed desires to public view. Notably, Jack the Ripper’s notorious mutilations of women finds another reverberation in Dracula. A certain

redemptive form of mutilation (165) is also performed by Van Helsing and his Crew of Light in order to save Lucy from her vampire state (215-217).

Dracula and Jack the Ripper may also be said to be blood brothers along ethnic lines. Like Dracula, the Ripper was figured frequently as Jewish. Notably, the poverty-stricken area of Whitechapel where the Ripper conducted his bloody business became so densely populated with Jewish immigrants at the fin de siècle that it was called “Jew-town” (Feldman 56). Arthur Morrison’s depiction of Whitechapel for the readership of the People’s Palace Journal in April of 1889 — only several months after the murder of Jack the Ripper’s last victim — betrays signs of the anti-Semitism current in Stoker’s day:

A horrible black labyrinth ... reeking from end to end with the vilest exhalations; its streets, mere kennels of horrid putrefaction; its every wall, its every object, slimy with the indigenous ooze of the place; swarming with human vermin, whose trade is robbery, and whose recreation is murder; the catacombs of London — darker, more tortuous, and more dangerous than those of Rome, and supersaturated with foul life. (Frayling 203; emphasis added)

Physical and moral decadence pervade Morrison’s disturbing verbal portrait, and the images of Whitechapel’s filth, kennels, and vermin-like inhabitants anticipate Stoker’s foul-smelling, fanging Count who conducts an army of rats (252).

Turning to a closer examination of the Ripper, a serial killer who occasionally cannibalized his victims (Showalter 1977: 188), one discovers that many anti-Semitic stereotypes were at play in his “story.” Not only was the Ripper suspected of being of a “marked Hebrew type” (Walkowitz 204), he was specifically thought by many to be a Jewish shochet or ritual slaughterer. This figure was bastardized and demonized in the popular media as a “kosher butcher,” one who was perhaps engaged in a type of ritual slaughter of harlots as decreed in the Talmud (Sharkey 115). As Sander Gilman has written, “The reality, at least that reality which terrified the London of 1888, was that the

victims were butchered" (1991: 112; emphasis added). A result, in part, of the repeated assertion "that no Englishman could have perpetrated such a horrible crime", the popular "Jacob the Ripper" theory led, Walkowitz argues, to "two local developments: denunciation of Jews at the inquests as ritual murderers and widespread intimidation of Jews throughout the East End" (203). As Christopher Frayling relates, "Official visits were made to kosher abbatoirs, [and] two ritual slaughtermen were arrested" as Ripper suspects (200). This Ripper as shochet idea is suggested in Dracula in the heart-racing scene where the Count is cornered by Van Helsing's crew and figuratively bleeds money after being cut by Harker's Kukri knife. Before taunting them that the girls they love are his, Dracula says, "You think to baffle me, you — with your pale faces all in a row, like sheep in a butcher's. You shall be sorry yet, each one of you!" (306; emphasis added).

The blood libel and the spectre of a Jewish conspiratorial secret society intent on world domination were resurrected during the Ripper investigations. Especially after September 30th, the night of the double murders of Lizzie Stride and Catherine Eddowes, Jewish "revolutionaries" and socialists came under increasing suspicion. Stride's body had been discovered in front of a political club mostly frequented by Jewish socialists, and a portion of Eddowes's bloodstained apron was found in front of a building on Goulston Street which was inhabited by Jews (Walkowitz 204). Although it is still debated, some argue that the Ripper's scrawled chalk message above the location of Eddowes's apron which read "The Juwes are not the men that will be blamed for nothing" (Walkowitz 204), attested, due to its poor English construction and orthography, to Jack's Eastern European, Jewish background (Gilman 1991: 122). The "Jacob the Ripper" theory was further supported on the third of December when The Times reported that the Ripper was a Russian "nihilist" and a member of a "secret society". While Clive Bloom argues that Jack became "the focal point for an attack on foreigners (in particular Russians) and especially foreigners who ... [were] bent on undermining society in secret via covertly ritualised murder" (120-121; emphasis added), the fact is that the "Russians" entering England in the

1890s were predominantly Jews, and it was the Jews who had long been associated with both ritual murder and conspiracy. As Arnold White complains in The Modern Jew, “The immigration into this country of the poor of other lands is now almost entirely restricted to persons of the Jewish race” (xi).

In Dracula, with its central theme involving the alien invasion of the body and the body politic, Bram Stoker may be said to have evoked many of the sexual, political, and economic spectres haunting Britain during the period of the Jack the Ripper murders. Many of these spectres, specifically those involving the Jews, were long established. By way of Gothic narrative, Stoker compellingly enacted their ritual purgation. Indeed, the idea of purification in association with the syphilis menace was significant to both Stoker's Dracula and the media construction of Jack the Ripper. A popular rumour circulated that “the Ripper was a mad doctor avenging himself on prostitutes for a case of syphilis” (Showalter 1986: 94), and there is even one critic, Robert Tracy, who advances the highly controversial claim that Stoker, afflicted with syphilis³⁷, reenacted in Dracula, “with a mixture of moral outrage and prurience, the 1888 murders of Whitechapel prostitutes attributed to Jack the Ripper” (1990: 45).

Although the mirroring of the deviant woman with the deviant Jew was an established semiotic staple — in their earliest configuration they were considered to be both dangerously seductive and easily seduced by fleshly and material pleasures — it would seem that Stoker adapts this connection in Dracula in order to lay to rest fin-de-siècle anxieties in general and anxieties awakened by the Ripper murders in particular. While, as Gilman argues, “the carrier of disease can only be eliminated by one who is equally corrupt and diseased” (1991: 111) — thus only the deviant Jack the Ripper may kill the deviant prostitute — the tables are turned in Dracula. Dracula may respond to the call of the wild polyandrous woman lurking at the core of the sacred angel in the house who, as Mina explains, never entirely loses the taste of the original apple of sin (183), but Mina also functions as an intriguing “double agent” who is used to defeat Dracula. Although the

Count initiates her into vampirism so that he may gain a connection with his pursuers, she ends up supplying the crucial spiritual link that precipitates Dracula's demise.³⁸ As such, she taps into what Stoker describes as "the mother" in herself (230) in order to defeat evil.

The exorcism of Mina's "inner prostitute" and the reinstatement of British Christian "family values," therefore, are inextricably bound up with Dracula's bloody, violent, and ritualistic death. Only when the Count is killed does Mina's symbolic mark of Cain made by Van Helsing with the Host (296) vanish. This mark stigmatizes Mina as one of Dracula's Wandering Jew-vampire brood, and its disappearance is figured as a Christian redemption. As Quincey Morris dies in his act of Christian "service," Mina describes how:

With one impulse the men sank on their knees, and a deep and earnest "Amen" broke from all as their eyes followed the pointing of his finger as the dying man spoke: —

"Now God be thanked that all has not been in vain! See! the snow is not more stainless than her forehead! The curse has passed away!" (378)

Mina's journal description of Dracula's final moments also foregrounds the idea of spiritual salvation: "I shall be glad as long as I live that even in that moment of final dissolution there was in the face a look of peace, such as I never could have imagined might have rested there" (377). In his ritual Crucifixion-like death scene where he is sheared through the throat by Harker's great Kukri knife (377), Bram Stoker's cut-throat, Shylock-like Count is finally released from his accursed, undead state which involves eternal, carnal bondage. In this dramatic sequence, Stoker's demonic Wandering Jew is effectively converted to Christianity. Dracula is ultimately granted peaceful rest while England makes her return to good old-fashioned "family values" monogamy and honest "Christian" capitalism.

NOTES

¹ Jules Zanger claims that between “1881 and 1900, the number of foreign Jews in England increased by 600 per cent” (34). More specific figures are provided by Linda Gertner Zatlin. While her figures are noteworthy, they do not support Zanger’s 600 per cent claim. She writes, “The 100,000 new [Jewish] arrivals between 1881 and 1905 created a major problem, one which threatened to split the Anglo-Jewish community. By 1900 approximately 150,000 Jews lived in London alone, almost two-thirds were émigrés clustered in the East End. Of the approximately 60,000 Jews in England in the 1880s, more than one half were born in England. The more accultur[at]ed of this group were repelled by the lower-class immigrants” (106). Nathan Ausubel’s figures on the Jewish population in England concur with Zatlin’s. He maintains that in “1883 there were 47,000 Jews living in the city [of London], many of them the descendants of late eighteenth-century Polish immigrants. By 1902 the number had more than tripled, to a total of 150,000” (185-186).

² In his significant essay from 1966, “The Historical Dracula: The Theme of His Legend in the Western and in the Eastern Literatures of Europe,” Grigore Nandris outlined several of what he considered to be the significant sources of, and contemporary influences on, Stoker’s Dracula. According to Nandris, “To his [Stoker’s] reading on folklore the current press of his time could have added its contribution. The memories of Londoners at the time of Dracula’s gestation were haunted by the horror of the undetected murder of women by the criminal sex maniac, Jack the Ripper of the 1880’s” (378). Similarly, in her shopping list of the “related contemporary events” that made Stoker “more receptive” to conflating the figure of the vampire with the historical Dracula, Phyllis Roth mentions “the horror of Jack the Ripper in London; the translation by Sir Richard Burton, whom Stoker knew

personally, of twenty-five tales about a vampire written centuries before by the Indian sage Bhavabhuti; the publication of Frazer's The Golden Bough which detailed vampire superstitions, and Stoker's membership in an occult lodge called 'Golden Dawn in the Outer' to which Montague Summers also belonged" (94). In Dracula: The Novel & The Legend, Clive Leatherdale also examines contemporary influences on Stoker. He mentions Frazer and then quotes from an 1888 newspaper saying "This extract confirms the ease with which any unexplained bloodshedding could be laid at the door of vampires. The source of these 'vampire' attacks in Victorian London? — the activities of Jack the Ripper!" (81). Finally, in a personal letter to me dated 28th September 1996, Bernard Davies, Co-Founder and Chairman of the Dracula Society in England, outlines how Dracula and Jack the Ripper essentially "shared a backyard." Count Dracula's East End hideout in Chicksand Street was located close to Jack the Ripper's territory. As Davies explains it, "Some of Jack's murders were committed within the proverbial 'stone's throw' of Chicksand Street: the first at Buck's Row, a little way to the east behind Whitechapel Station; (probably) the second at Hanbury Street a little way north; (again probably) the last off Dorset Street, halfway in between.... I think the blood-soaked atmosphere of this whole little district then — for he began work on Dracula only one year after the last murder, when it was all fresh in the public's mind — fascinated Stoker."

³ The literary representation of the vampire reflected this racially-obsessed environment. In her essay, "Vampires and the Empire: Fears and Fictions of the 1890s," Alexandra Warwick elucidates how the racial aspect of the vampire was foregrounded in British literature in the nineteenth-century *fin de siècle* (208, 216).

⁴ Stoker adopted these details about the Scholomance from Emily de Laszowska Gerard's two-volume work The Land Beyond the Forest. As Clive Leatherdale has noted, "Stoker's debt to Emily Gerard is immense" (1987: 108).

⁵ David Glover argues that "... secrecy is textualized in Stoker's writing in several ways, and his books are full of mystery, deception, and concealment, often bringing into play a kind of Masonic narrative in which — as in Dracula — a group of men and women privately pledge themselves to fight against some terrible and overwhelming force" (4; emphasis added). Although it remains disputed, Stoker may have himself been a member of the famous secret society known as Golden Dawn in the Outer.

⁶ As James Shapiro has recently illustrated, Sir Richard Burton resuscitated the blood libel charge in his argument in The Jew, the Gypsy and El Islam "that Sephardic Jews still practiced ritual murder and cites specific instances that he knew about in Damascus, Rhodes, and Corfu. Suppressed from publication in this volume, as Burton's editor W.H. Wilkins tactfully notes, was an 'Appendix on the Alleged Rite of Human Sacrifice among the Sephardim'" (101). In the second volume of Isis Unveiled, Helen Blavatsky refers to the charge as follows: "Notwithstanding the numerous proofs that the Israelites worshipped a variety of gods, and even offered human sacrifices until a far later period than their Pagan neighbors, they have contrived to blind posterity in regard to truth" (524). Although published in 1926, many years after Stoker's death, Montague Summers's The History of Witchcraft and Demonology attests to the persistence of the belief that the blood libel charge was factually-based. In this Gothic scholar's discussion of the human sacrifices ritually performed by witches, Summers writes, "This tradition is, perhaps, not unconnected with the Jewish ritual sacrifices of S. William of Norwich (1144); Harold of

Gloucester (1168); William of Paris (1177); Robert of Bury S. Edmunds (1181); S. Werner of Obserwesel (1286); S. Rudolph of Berne (1294); S. Andreas of Rinn (1462); S. Simon of Trent, a babe of two and a half years old (1473); Simon Abeles, whose body lies in the Teyn Kirche at Prague, murdered for Christ's sake on 21 February, 1694, by Lazarus and Levi Kurtzhandel; El santo Niño de la Guardia, near Toledo (1490), and many more" (161-162).

⁷ Although the Zionist Organization was formally established by Theodor Herzl in 1897, the year of Dracula's publication (Shimoni 97), its origins lay in the "Hibbat Zion groups of the early 1880s ... [that] articulate[d] an ideology pertaining to the idea of a return to Zion and its restoration as a homeland for the Jews" (85). Leo Pinsker's famous work Autoemancipation (1882), a perceptive and cogent analysis of anti-Semitism throughout history, was crucial to the Zionist movement. Therein, Pinsker argued (and Max Nordau and Cesare Lombroso fundamentally concurred) that Judeophobia — hatred of the Jews — was a widespread mental illness among Gentiles. As the Jew, as Pinsker described them, "cannot readily be digested by any nation" (33), the solution to the "Jewish Problem" lay in the establishment of a Jewish nation.

⁸ Although Count Dracula is a consummate chameleon in England who manages to pass very well, there are physiognomical traits which betray his moral "difference" from other Englishmen. In a scene which I discuss later when Mina sees Dracula for the first time, she notes his immoral bestial aspect (172).

⁹ As Benjamin Disraeli, a Christianized Jew, had become a Member of Parliament in 1837, it is possible that he could be this unnamed individual.

¹⁰ In a piece entitled “The Wandering Jew” published in the Jewish periodical The Menorah in February of 1894, M. Ellinger provides a notably positive portrait of both Disraeli and the Wandering Jew which stands in direct contrast to that articulated in The Hebrew Talisman. Ellinger not only describes the mission of the latter patriarchal figure as involving the promotion of British national interests and civilization (101), he suggests that Disraeli is an incarnation of the Wandering Jew and describes Disraeli's Eastern policy in positive terms. Ellinger writes:

... sometimes, in order to better carry out his mission as the promoter of civilization, [the Wandering Jew] dons the garb of one of the children which he brought forth, though they deny him.

To refer only to modern times, was it not the Jew, Disraeli, who barred and locked the watery gate to India, so that the barbarous Moscovite should have no chance to interfere with the march of England in the Orient? (101)

¹¹ As Barbara Belford explains in her recent biography of Stoker, George Du Maurier was at Whitby in the summer of 1890 and “had featured the Stokers in a Punch cartoon” (227). According to Belford, du Maurier was completing Trilby at this time. Describing the mesmerist Svengali as “an enduring mythic character to rival Dracula”, Belford wonders, “Was Dracula born from Svengali, as critic Nina Auerbach suggests, with his powers still further extended over time and space? Both deal with the fear of female sexuality and the loss of innocence, and with brave men who rescue the mother figure from a foreigner's embrace” (228). In the recent Everyman edition of Trilby, Leonee Ormond perceptively notes the Dracula-Svengali connection in her introductory comments: “There are parallels

here with Bram Stoker's *Dracula*, another man of sinister and Central European origins, practising diabolic arts on British womanhood" (xxviii).

¹² Leonard Wolf notes in his edition of Stoker's novel, The Essential Dracula, that "[t]he Adelphi was not far from the Lyceum Theatre where Stoker spent much of his adult life as confidante to Sir Henry Irving and as actor-manager of the theatre. This casual bit of anti-Semitism on Stoker's part is certainly too bad, but it is not unusual in a nineteenth-century British gentleman" (413, n.17). It would seem that Henry Irving's apparent lack of anti-Semitism, an issue I briefly discuss in this chapter, was more unusual given the prejudices of the age.

¹³ For more on the nose as a representative Jewish signifier, see chapter seven in Sander Gilman's The Jew's Body.

¹⁴ F.W. Murnau's Nosferatu (1922), the first adaptation of Dracula to the screen, retains this plague connection. Rats accompany Graf Orlok to England, and Orlok himself resembles a rat with his pointed ears, rat-like fangs, bald cranium, and inordinately long, claw-like fingers.

¹⁵ Given that "Catholics and Protestants repeatedly accused each other of Judaizing tendencies" in the decades following the Reformation (Shapiro 8) when Protestant mercantile activity was rapidly expanding, it would seem that Protestant merchants felt increasing pressure to justify their commercial activities. Defining this involvement as beneficial to the Commonwealth necessitated defining what type of mercantile activity was

detrimental. Designating Jewish usury as a pernicious, perverse, and parasitical form of capitalism, therefore, became a popular activity among Protestant writers of the day.

¹⁶ Willa Z. Silverman delineates how a similar attitude towards Jewish commerce existed in fin de siècle France. There, Jewish moneymaking was regarded as a type of magic or what she calls “voodoo economics”. According to Silverman, Jews were regarded by many as an evil empire” (157) composed of “medieval alchemists ... [who] ‘create[d] something from nothing’ through credit and speculation” (156).

¹⁷ It is noteworthy that in his most famous non-Shakespearean role as Mathias in The Bells, a play based on Erckmann-Chatrian’s story Le juif polonais, Irving plays a man racked with guilt after murdering a wealthy Jew.

¹⁸ The popular argument that Stoker modelled his notorious Count on the figure of Henry Irving should be radically reformulated. The most extreme claim to date derives from Stoker’s most recent biographer Barbara Belford who maintains that Stoker “[s]ealed ... a Faustian pact” with Irving (81). Instead, I would argue that Stoker integrated aspects of Irving’s most famous roles in his creation of the character of Count Dracula. Apart from Shylock, Irving played Mephistopheles in Faust some 792 times beginning in December of 1885. This was not only one of Irving’s most famous roles, it was “the Lyceum’s greatest success” (Belford 185).

¹⁹ Ken Gelder explains in Reading the Vampire that Marx had repeatedly made this connection between vampirism and capitalism:

Marx drew on the metaphor of the vampire time and time again to describe its [modern capitalism's] processes: in The Eighteenth Brumaire, the bourgeoisie “has become a vampire that sucks out his [the smallholding peasant's] blood and brains and throws them into the alchemist's cauldron of capital”: in the Grundrisse, capital survives by “constantly sucking in living labour as its soul, vampire-like”, and so on. In Capital itself, this imagery is intensified (20)

²⁰ While William Godwin provided a fictional account of Britain's moral and commercial Judaization in the 1790s in St. Leon, Anthony Trollope's The Way We Live Now (1875) is a similar work condemning the 1870s. Trollope employs the imagery of infection and degeneracy to portray an increasingly corrupt, Mammon-obsessed Britain that allows the “Napoleonic” (I. 246; II. 171), parasitic (I. 221-222; II 44) Augustus Melmotte to climb the ladder of success.

²¹ A reading of Count Dracula as a Catholic is provided by Kathleen Spencer. Ignoring Dracula's aristocratic background and the fact that the peasants use Catholic iconography against him, Spencer writes, “his roots are in Eastern Europe — Slavic, Catholic, peasant, and superstitious where England is Anglo-Saxon, Protestant, industrial, and rationalist” (213).

²² According to a list of patrons compiled by Bram Stoker, Dr. Charcot had actually been a guest at the Lyceum's famous Beefsteak Room (1906: I.316).

²³ For more on this subject see Ernest Fontana's article, "Lombroso's Criminal Man and Stoker's Dracula."

²⁴ Lombroso and Nordau were actually severely critical of anti-Semitism. Lombroso argued, for example, that anti-Semites were diseased. As Sander Gilman explains in Freud, Race, and Gender:

For Lombroso the "epidemic" of anti-Semitism was caused by syphilis, for "the most fanatic anti-Semites have syphilis or they show the signs of having had the disease." They demonstrate signs of the "delirium ... incited everywhere by the same virus." It is a disease, indeed, caused by the presence of the intact penis and the anxiety of castration. (82)

Lombroso's Freudian assessment of anti-Semitism is particularly noteworthy as it incorporates the spectre of syphilis which was often associated with the Jewish community and used to generate anti-Semitism at the fin de siècle.

²⁵ This Jew-prostitute-disease connection is retained in the infamous Protocols of the Elders of Zion which was published in its earliest form in Russia in 1901. Presented as a series of twenty-four lectures in which a subversive group known as the Elders of Zion expound their plot to achieve world domination, these Protocols outline how "drunkenness and prostitution must be vigorously fostered" in order to undermine Gentile morality. They explain how any surviving remnants of opposition "can always be inoculated with frightful diseases" (Cohn 3). Twenty years later in Germany, Adolf Hitler articulated what he perceived to be the combined sexual-economic threat posed by the Jew. In My Struggle (1925), he writes, "In the case of syphilis especially the attitude of the State and public bodies was one of absolute capitulation.... The discovery of a remedy which is of a

questionable nature and the excellent way in which it was placed on the market were only of little assistance in fighting such a scourge. Here again the only course to adopt is to attack the disease in its causes rather than in its symptoms. But in this case the primary cause is to be found in the manner in which love has been prostituted.... This Judaizing of our spiritual life and mammonizing of our natural instinct for procreation will sooner or later work havoc with our whole posterity" (141-2). As Gilman notes, "Hitler also linked Jews with prostitutes and the spread of infection. Jews were the 'arch-pimps'; Jews ran the brothels; Jews infected their prostitutes and caused the weakening of the German national fiber" (1993: 62). In recent years, Nation of Islam leader Louis Farrakhan, a notorious anti-Semite, has suggested "that Jewish doctors invented the AIDS virus to infect black children". As Goran Larsson has commented, Farrakhan's claim is but "a modern version of the medieval Black Death-accusation and the superstition that Jews poisoned the wells and even killed Christian children!" (Larsson 52-53).

²⁶ Although George Simmel does not mention Jews in his essay on prostitution, he does state that "the nature of money resembles the nature of prostitution. The indifference with which it lends itself to any use, the infidelity with which it leaves everyone, its lack of ties to anyone, its complete objectification that excludes any attachment and makes it suitable as a pure means — all this suggests a portentous analogy between it and prostitution" (122).

²⁷ In the introduction to Makt Myrkranna, the Icelandic translation of Dracula, Stoker seems to suggest that Lucy's attacks constitute a fictionalization of the Ripper murders in Dracula. He states, somewhat cryptically, that "the notorious murders of Jack the Ripper, ... came into the story [Dracula] a little later" (8). My argument, however, is that the Jack the Ripper murders are not only extensively integrated into Dracula, along both technical

and thematic lines, but that both Dracula and Jack the Ripper share, rather significantly, a certain semiotic “costume.”

²⁸ This description of women as lilies was especially popularised by John Ruskin in his book Sesame and Lilies which contains “Of Queens’ Gardens,” his famous essay about women’s roles in the Victorian family and society. Stoker does use this imagery in Dracula. In one scene, for example, Van Helsing refers to the vampirised Lucy as “that poor lily girl” (182).

²⁹ Rather significantly, the term “polyandrous” was also used in journalism about the Jack the Ripper murders as a euphemism for the word prostitute. In one article about these 1888 Whitechapel murders, for example, a Star reporter was said to have “made inquiries among a number of ‘polyandrous’ women in the East End” (Walkowitz 203).

³⁰ Stoker actually published two articles on this subject in the early 1900s for The Nineteenth Century & After — “The Censorship of Fiction” (1908) and “The Censorship of Stage Plays” (1909). Ironically, Dracula cannot be defended totally against the charge of sexual titillation and graphic violence. Stoker would maintain, however, that his novel portrays the truly seductive nature of evil and the terrible price to be paid for succumbing to it. Several literary critics have reiterated this reading, describing Dracula as a Christian allegory (Frayling 1991: 79) that unapologetically promotes conservative “family values.”

³¹ The theme of miscegenation is central to other Gothic works where it functions as a transgression or type of original sin for which subsequent atonement is necessary. In keeping with the Gothic’s dynamic of the return of the repressed, a sin like miscegenation

is later visited upon the sons and/or daughters of the sinner. In The Monk, this taboo is class-related as opposed to race-related. Ambrosio's mother Elvira, the daughter of a shoemaker, violated the social code when she secretly married a nobleman (13). This sin is paid for by her children.

³² In his greatly discussed 1984 essay, “‘Kiss Me with Those Red Lips’: Gender and Inversion in Bram Stoker’s *Dracula*,” Christopher Craft argues that “all erotic contacts between males [in *Dracula*], whether directly libidinal or thoroughly sublimated, are fulfilled through a mediating female, through the surrogation of the other, ‘correct,’ gender” (224). While this is the case when *Dracula* is in England, it is clearly not the case prior to his arrival.

³³ James Shapiro explains that “Paradoxically, even as descriptions of Jews focused almost exclusively on men (except for some notable exceptions in plays), the Jews as a people were often thought of collectively as feminine, especially when juxtaposed to the masculine English (hence the ease with which analogies could be drawn between Jews and female prostitutes)” (38-39).

³⁴ For more on these two significant fin-de-siècle female figures, see Dijkstra’s *Idols of Perversity*, 376-401.

³⁵ Although this translation did not appear until 1901, Stoker’s introductory comments were written in August of 1898.

³⁶ In The Vampire Omnibus, Peter Haining refers to a curious “suggestion ... [that] floated in America that Dracula ... [was] actually a cryptic novelization of the Jack the Ripper mystery based on certain secret information that was only known to Bram Stoker and a close circle of his friends!” (Haining 3). Given his tantalizing introduction to the Icelandic edition, Stoker would no doubt have been delighted by this rumour.

³⁷ In the Postscript to his 1975 biography about the life and literary production of his grand-uncle, Daniel Farson speculated that Bram Stoker died of syphilis (233). Describing him as “chained to a beautiful but frigid wife” (214), Farson postulated that Stoker sought his sexual pleasure from prostitutes and could have contracted the illness “as early as the year of Dracula, 1897”. Farson further argued that the effects of this devastating disease became manifest in Stoker’s literary works. As he described it, “When his wife’s frigidity drove him to other women, probably prostitutes among them, Bram’s writing showed signs of guilt and sexual frustration” (234). This theory remains highly controversial and has most recently been disputed by Leslie Shepard in his essay, “A Note on the Death Certificate of Bram Stoker.” Whether Stoker died of syphilis or not, the spectre of syphilophobia which menaced his society certainly haunts Dracula.

³⁸ Mina’s role as a spiritual link to Dracula is similar to that of female spiritualists, like the famous Georgina Weldon, who tried their hand at armchair detection during the Ripper affair by attempting to commune with the spirits of the murdered women (Walkowitz 189).

Conclusion

The Eternal Wandering Jew Vampire:

Pathological Projection and the Nazi Nightmare

He [the Jew] is and remains a parasite, a sponger who, like a pernicious bacillus, spreads over wider and wider areas according as some favourable area attracts him. The effect produced by his presence is also like that of the vampire; for wherever he establishes himself the people who grant him hospitality are bound to be bled to death sooner or later.

(Hitler 172)

The portrait of the Jews that the [German] nationalists offer to the world is in fact their own self-portrait.

(Horkheimer and Adorno 168)

In this dissertation I have traced the transformation of the largely benevolent Wandering Jew of legend into a dreaded-but-desired vampire figure in the pages of five British Gothic works published over the course of a century. I have illustrated how anti-Semitic stereotypes involving the blood libel, secret societies, and the Cabala were progressively grafted onto the Wandering Jew of legend in order to speak to British apprehensions about Jewish assimilation and Jewish difference. That these “spectropoetics,” as I have termed them, became manifest in the British Gothic novel, a literary form which emerged at the end of the eighteenth century, is significant for two reasons: this genre betrayed conscious and unconscious desires and anxieties about national issues (Punter 62), and this was “one of the most formative periods in the making of the modern world and ... the forging of British identity” (Colley 7).

Criticism of Gothic literature and its role in the formation of British national identity has often focused on the role of Catholic France. I have concentrated instead on the figure of the Jew, an “Other” who had long been demonized in Britain in order to speak to a variety of issues. The novels examined in this study illustrate how the Jew was symbolically central to debates in particular about ethics and economics. Indeed, the

wandering signifier “Jew” was popularly and widely circulated in these debates. As Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno have astutely remarked, the “Jews remained objects, at the mercy of others.... Commerce was not their vocation but their fate” (175). Questions concerning the ethics of economics especially plagued the conscience of capitalist, imperialist Britain throughout the nineteenth century, and the nationally and morally transgressive figure of the vampiric Wandering Jew reflected ambivalence regarding these issues: while, on one hand, he was a religious throwback who attested to the progress of an expanding Christian British Empire, on the other he was a monitory projection that warned of that nation’s “Jewish” excesses. Given the *fin de siècle*’s preoccupations, it is not surprising that the culmination of the convergence of the Wandering Jew and the vampire occurred in Bram Stoker’s Dracula. Perceived threats and actual historic events were combined and fictionalized in that 1897 novel in order to address the anxieties of a period in which the British Empire sensed its vulnerability at the same time that thousands of Eastern European Jews were immigrating to Britain’s shores.

By way of a conclusion and in order to establish a significant point of comparison, I wish to undertake a cursory examination of the vampiric Wandering Jew in another national setting and in another genre — Nazi propaganda cinema. The genre of Gothic literature may be said to have been a product, in part, of reciprocal German-English dialogue at the end of the eighteenth century when the German Terror-novel, or Schauerroman, was popular in Britain, and British Gothic literature grew increasingly popular in Germany. In the light of this literary cross-fertilization, German and British Gothic novels shared certain characters and themes in common. While the figures of the vampire and the Wandering Jew appeared separately in the Schauerromanen, however, their combined spectres haunted nineteenth-century German philosophical essays about the Jewish Question. As illustrated briefly in Chapter Four, a bloodthirsty, itinerant Jewish capitalist who threatened German national security was featured in essays by such writers as Karl Marx and Moses Hess.

Under the leadership of Adolf Hitler, the National Socialist Party resuscitated the figure of the vampiric Wandering Jew subsequent to Germany's defeat in World War One when the humiliating 1919 Treaty of Versailles saddled that nation with a reparations bill amounting to twenty-seven billion dollars. Although several perceptive writers have noted parallels between the concepts of racial purity and genocide in Stoker's Dracula and Nazi Germany¹, a crucial distinction must be foregrounded regarding the uses to which the vampiric Wandering Jew was put in fin-de-siècle Britain and Nazi Germany. While this figure was central to the consolidation of national identity in both countries, he was represented as a realistic reflection of the Jew in Germany. Through the medium of propaganda cinema, the Nazis thus fostered a new and terrifying stage in the development of the vampiric Wandering Jew: this Gothic creation blurred yet another boundary by wandering into reality. More terrifying, however, was the fact that this representation was deliberately manipulated with the intention of doing physical harm to the Jewish population. As the immediate audience reactions to these films and the death camps attest, these nightmarish projections were hugely successful in their aims.²

The vampiric Wandering Jew featured in Nazi propaganda cinema was actually drawn from the terrifying phantasmagoria of German Expressionist cinema, an artistic movement which was itself influenced by Gothic literature.³ This provenance was ironic given that the Nazis considered German Expressionism to be fostered by Jewish "wheeler-dealer[s] and bloodthirsty Nosferatus" who had "contaminated" pure German cinema (Rentschler 155)⁴. Prior to 1940, the imagery of Jews as peripatetic parasites had also been disseminated in various Nazi publications. Hitler described the Jews as vampires in Mein Kampf in 1925 (172), and a horrifyingly illustrated issue of Julius Streicher's Nazi newspaper, Der Stürmer, revived the blood libel in May of 1934. Its front cover showed two rabbis sacrificing a group of "Aryan" children and collecting their blood (Ben-Sasson 1128). The Wandering Jew also played a prominent role in the largest anti-Jewish exhibition of the prewar years organized by the Nazis. Displayed in Munich's Deutsches

Museum in November of 1937, the exhibition called Der ewige Jude, “the Eternal Jew,” was composed of anti-Semitic materials, caricatures, and slogans. Although a disturbing section was included on the Jews in film, the Nazis only made major use of film in their propaganda effort at the beginning of the war (Friedländer 383). In 1940, the vampiric Wandering Jew assumed the starring role in two of these propaganda films. Specifically produced to incite violence and prepare Germans for the Final Solution, Veit Harlan's Jew Süss and Fritz Hippler's The Eternal Jew were both advertised as realistic portraits of contemporary German Jews. While Joseph Goebbels, the Nazi propaganda minister, insisted that Harlan's drama be billed as a realistic historic portrait (Rentschler 151), Hippler's venomous cinematic work was described as non-fiction. Following orders, one critic wrote that The Eternal Jew is “not a fiction film, but a documentary film about world Jewry.... Its effect on the viewer lies precisely in this cool objectivity” (181).

Like Bram Stoker's Dracula, Nazi German propaganda cinema expressed the theory that nationalism was inextricably bound up with the concept of racial purity. As Anthony Synnott has argued, Nazism was, from its inception, “an ideology based on blood” (Synnott 31) according to which Jews were national pollutants who could never be assimilated into the German body politic. Hitler had articulated these völkisch ideas as early as February 24, 1920 when, in a highly publicized mass meeting at the Hofbrauhaus

... he delivered a venomous denunciation of the Jews, recited the Party's twenty-five point program, and concluded his presentation with another attack on the Jews. Point Four of his announced program read: “Only those who have German blood, regardless of creed, can be our countrymen. Hence no Jew can be a countryman.” (Friedman 55)

Drawing upon popular European fin-de-siècle, pseudo-scientific ideas about the Jews and degeneration, Hitler later publicly declared that the “opinion that it is possible to co-exist or come to some sort of compromise with this ferment of decomposition among peoples, is like hoping that the human body might in the long run assimilate plague bacilli” (qtd. in

Herzstein 181). Goebbels's anti-Semitic descriptions also drew upon similar pseudo-scientific notions about disease and degeneration. Among other venomous statements, he called the Jew a "bum parasite", "the incarnation of evil, the ferment of decomposition, [and] the demon who brings about the degeneration of mankind" (Herzstein 178). In response to this national plague, Goebbels assumed the role of hygienist (177). Propaganda films were a vital component in his program to "purify" the nation.

Harlan's Jew Süss and Hippler's The Eternal Jew reflect Nazi Germany's völkisch ideology and its principal fear of Crypto-Judaism. As was the case with the conversos during the period of the Spanish Inquisition, the Nazis were particularly fearful of the Jews who had assimilated into their society. This group of non-ghettoized Jews was especially suspected, as Alain Finkielkraut articulates, of conspiring to undermine the nation:

Genocide [in W.W. II] was not imposed on the Jews in spite of their effort to assimilate, but in response to this very attempt. The more they hid their Jewishness, the more terrifying they became to others.... It took a Jew without qualities to fit the part of spy or conspirator.... Assimilated Jews thought they were being charged with excessively Jewish behavior, when it was their will to integration that was really the crime: the wary would only weaken their case in the very way they secured their defense. A kind of relentless mechanism had been set in place, turning every protestation of innocence into yet more evidence of guilt. (69-70)

The Eternal Jew illustrates, however, that ghettoized Jews also formed a part of this terror — they were conspiring infiltrators in training. Hippler's film and Jew Süss were specifically produced in order to promote the punishment of both the dangerous Jewish infiltrators and their unassimilated co-religionists. Towards this end, both films revived the blood libel and portrayed the Jews as contaminated aliens who expertly feigned assimilation in order to pursue material gain through their "Jewish" capitalist methods of usury, swindling, and fraud.

Described by one critic as “a monster movie in the guise of a realistic portrait and a historical reconstruction” (Rentschler 158), Harlan's Jew Süss relates the story of Süss Oppenheimer, a Jewish moneylender who insinuates his way into the court of Karl Alexander, Duke of Württemberg, in the eighteenth century. Feigning knowledge of the secret sciences in order to persuade Karl Alexander that his actions are divinely sanctioned, Süss gains control over him. In return for Süss's aid, the Duke grants him access to Stuttgart, a city closed to Jews, and appoints him finance minister. Public disfavour grows, however, as a result of Süss's burdensome taxation schemes and the coup d'état he engineers in order to expand the Duke's power. Süss's rape of the daughter of a prominent District Councillor and her subsequent suicide seal Süss's fate. Karl Alexander dies leaving his finance minister unprotected, and Süss's public execution follows. The film ends with a stern proclamation from the Chairman of the Council that ordered Süss's execution that all Jews are now banned from Württemberg. In statements obviously intended for the 1940 German viewing audience, the Chairman invokes the blood libel. He cautions, “May our descendants hold firmly to this law [of Jewish expulsion], so they can save themselves much suffering and save their goods and lives and the blood of their children and their children's children.”

A true product of anti-Semitic stereotypes that date back to the medieval period, Süss Oppenheimer is “a personified Satan” (Hull 169), and Jew Süss has been aptly described as “dramatized Stürmer” (165). Particularly in his skill at assimilating into Stuttgart society, Süss Oppenheimer has also been characterized as “a latterday Dracula, who ... infects the German corpus[,] dissembles and disseminates” (Rentschler 156)⁵. Süss's act of raping the young Dorothea Sturm is reminiscent of Count Dracula's figurative acts of miscegenation in Britain, and the blood-money theme that is central to Stoker's novel is also prominent in Harlan's film. Indeed, in the first sequence shot in the Jewish ghetto where Süss lives, the shochet Itzak is shown cleaning his bloody knife while declaring that Süss should lend Karl Alexander money so that the Jews may “take, take,

take!" Jews, it is repeatedly suggested, bleed the nation dry. The power-hungry, well-travelled Süß who claims "the world" as his home, is later denounced by Dorothea's fiancé Faber as a degenerate and unproductive gambler whose "blood money" has been stolen from Stuttgart's productive families and their deserving children. Like Stoker's Count Dracula then, Süß is portrayed as a terrorizing force that threatens family values, and his murder is figured as redemptive for German society.

Fritz Hippler's The Eternal Jew has been called the most vicious and repulsive anti-Semitic film produced by the Nazis. Indeed, some film critics have described it as "the most evil film ever made" (Herzstein 180). Intended to instigate fear and anger in its viewing audience, this pseudo-documentary was presented as an exposé of the Crypto-Jew in Germany. Having successfully "infiltrated" European civilization for its own financial gain, this "international power" is described as terrorizing "world exchanges, world opinion, and world politics" with their capital. A particular warning is issued about the second and third generations of Jews who have left the ghetto. The commentator notes that their

... assimilation has reached its zenith. Outwardly, they try to act just like the host peoples. People without good instincts let themselves be deceived by this mimicry and consider Jews the same as they are. Therein lies the enormous danger. These assimilated Jews remain forever foreign bodies in the organisms of their host peoples regardless of appearances.

Drawing upon the weighted image of the host, the commentator informs the audience that this "race of parasites" never produces anything and always destroys its host nation:

Wherever the body of a nation shows a wound, they anchor themselves and feed on the decaying organism. They make business out of the sickness of the nations and thereafter endeavour to deepen and prolong all conditions of sickness.

The film proceeds to show how the “world-wide wanderings” of the Jews have paralleled the migrations of the rat: both have transmitted fatal plagues from one nation to another.

By far the most disturbing and controversial sequences in The Eternal Jew, however, occur at its conclusion. The ritual slaughter of a cow is screened on the heels of the claim that Judaism “is not a religion ... [but] a conspiracy against all non-Jews by a sick, deceitful, poisoned race against the Aryan peoples and their moral laws.” This graphic and disturbing ten-minute episode features the stereotypical Shylock-style shochet and portrays Judaism as a bloodthirsty religion. The film concludes with the commentator's description of how the implicitly “humane” Nazis have banned such “barbarian” practises. They enacted a law in 1933 forbidding the Jewish form of slaughter. The commentator concludes with the proclamation:

... National Socialist Germany has made a clean sweep of all Jewry. Jewish thinking and Jewish blood will never again pollute the German nation. Under the leadership of Adolf Hitler, Germany has raised the battle-flag against the eternal Jew.

Harlan's Jew Süss and Hippler's The Eternal Jew illustrate that Nazi anti-Semitism was borne of what Horkheimer and Adorno have called “pathological projection.” Blaming the Jews for all things modern and the erosion of traditional values and institutions (Goodrick-Clarke 5), the Nazis found a scapegoat upon whom they projected their own diseased self-image: “in order to feel their own existence and confirm their own reality, the Nazis needed the Jews” (Rentschler 154). Ironically, in its organization and belief system, Nazism resembled Judaism as it had been demonically portrayed in the European world-view: it was a conspiratorial, millenarian secret society — that, ironically, incorporated cabalistic elements (Goodrick-Clarke 5)⁶ — whose leader regarded himself as the new German messiah (197). Horkheimer and Adorno have astutely observed that “the pogroms ... [were] the true ritual murders” (171).

As I hope to have illustrated in this dissertation, anti-Semitism has been the real vampire throughout history. It has transgressed national borders engaging — in its most extreme forms — in a sinister form of religious demonology. Despite the exact nature of the impact of anti-Semitism, however, this ideology of hatred has been crucial to the construction of national identity. Horkheimer and Adorno have perceptively highlighted the fact that anti-Semitism is “a ritual of civilization” (171). Night, Elie Wiesel's haunting memoir about his experiences during the Holocaust, concludes with a graphic description of the effects of anti-Semitism. After years of sadistic brutality at the hands of the Nazis and the tragic death of his father just months before his liberation from Buchenwald, the young Wiesel describes how he encountered his reflection in a mirror for the first time since his internment. All he saw, he says, was a corpse staring back at him whose look has since plagued his memory (127). Wiesel's account is the stuff of which Gothic nightmares and horror films are usually made. As Lester D. Friedman has perceptively written:

Photographs and films taken in concentration camps grasp the strikingly sad resemblance between the tortured inmates and the walking dead of so many vampire movies. What demonic power could match Hitler's feat of turning members of the most humane professions into murderers and supporters of a totally immoral regime? Hitler and his followers transformed the world into a vast and terrifying horror movie in which good and evil battled to the death for mankind's soul. (56)

Among millions of “Others,” Elie Wiesel was the victim of the vampire called anti-Semitism that tragically continues to haunt nations — and notably even the cemeteries of those nations⁷ — refusing to let Jews live or rest in peace.

NOTES

¹ It is interesting to note how frequently critics have drawn parallels between Stoker's novel and the Holocaust. Curiously, Count Dracula has been mentioned in association with both the persecuted Jews and the brutalizing Nazis. In terms of the former perspective, Stephen Arata has argued that if Dracula stands for an entire race, his death "becomes a fantasized genocide" (460). H.L. Malchow has made a similar point:

The fate of Stoker's Dracula, brutal execution by an outraged community of men, is a fantasy that parallels the contemporaneous destruction of Oscar Wilde and Alfred Dreyfus at the hands of those who saw themselves as the moral guardians of their nations. It also, of course, anticipates the mass destruction of both European Jews and sexual deviants at the hands of Nazi racial hygienists. The teutonic Dr. Van Helsing's surgical assault on the supine, immobile, and vulnerable form of Dracula, in a ritual murder outside conventional morality, without the sanction of law and due process, for the sake of the health of the nation, its youth, and its womenfolk, found a kind of realization 45 years later in the operating theater of Dr. Joseph Mengele. (166)

In terms of the association forged between Dracula and the Nazis, Richard Wasson has argued that Dracula is representative of fascism besieging Western civilization. In his study of evil, Paul Oppenheimer has also noted several parallels between Count Dracula and Adolf Hitler:

Both Dracula and Hitler envisage "new orders" based on blood relations (on "race" in the case of Hitler), as well as the murder or elimination of "ordinary" human societies. Their destruction, or conversion into a group of slave labourers, or vampire-victims, who do the Führer's bidding, is to

lead to the creation of a vampiristic, or in the case of the Nazis, a “racially pure” new order, which is to sustain itself through violence, and this perpetually. (187)

As Clive Leatherdale has explained, Stoker’s novel actually played a part in the Second World War. The Allies exploited the equation of Dracula and the Nazis: “American propaganda posters featured a German soldier with canine teeth dripping with blood ... [and] free copies of Dracula were issued to US forces serving overseas” (235-6).

² Jew Suss, for example, was shown to the non-Jewish population when the Jews were about to be deported. In fact, by 1943, 20.3 million viewers had seen it (Rentschler 154). At the Auschwitz trial in Frankfurt one SS officer admitted that the effects of screening this film was to instigate the maltreatment of prisoners (Rentschler 165).

³ Film critics like Siegfried Kracauer, Lotte Eisner, and Lester D. Friedman have argued that German Expressionist cinema was an extension of the Gothic style in literature that anticipated the rise of fascism. Kracauer describes the transformation of cinematic monsters from German Expressionist fantasy to Nazi reality as follows:

[C]onspicuous screen characters now came true in life itself. Personified daydreams of minds to whom freedom meant a fatal shock, and adolescence a permanent temptation, these figures filled the arena of Nazi Germany. Homunculus walked about in the flesh. Self-appointed Caligaris hypnotized innumerable Cesares into murder. Raving Mabuses committed fantastic crimes with impunity, and mad Ivans devised unheard-of tortures. Along with this unholy procession, many motifs known from the screen turned into actual events. (272)

Lester D. Friedman has similarly illustrated how Paul Wegener's The Golem (1920) played out, in more subtle terms, the anti-Semitic ideas later upheld by the Nazis to promote the Final Solution.

⁴ The notorious anti-Semite Lucien Rebatet who ran the art section of the Institut d'Études des Question Juives in France during the Occupation years, wrote a book in 1941 entitled Les Tribus du cinéma in which he accused Jews of monopolizing cinema to the detriment of French filmmakers (180). Rebatet promoted a conspiracy in his claim that Jewish artists had "infiltrated" the Paris art world and were popular thanks to an organized network of partisan dealers and critics (Cone 181).

⁵ For a more detailed comparative analysis of Harlan's Jew Süss and Bram Stoker's Dracula, see Linda Schulte-Sasse's essay "Courtier, Vampire, or Vermin? Jew Süss's Contradictory Effort to Render the 'Jew' Other."

⁶ In his fascinating book The Occult Roots of Nazism: Secret Aryan Cults and Their Influence on Nazi Ideology, Nicholas Goodrick-Clarke notes that the Nazis "combined German völkisch nationalism and racism with occult notions borrowed from the theosophy of Helena Petrovna Blavatsky, in order to prophesy and vindicate a coming era of German world rule" (2). As delineated in Chapter Four, fin-de-siècle Britain had also been greatly influenced by Blavatsky's theosophy which, among other things, had resuscitated the blood libel against the Jews (Blavatsky II.524).

⁷ In reference to the Nazis, Horkheimer and Adorno have astutely described what I have argued is the "vampiric" aspect of anti-Semitism:

Anyone who seeks refuge must be prevented from finding it; those who express ideas which all long for, peace, a home, freedom — the nomads and players — have always been refused a homeland.... Even the last resting place is emptied of peace. The destruction of cemeteries is not a mere excess of anti-Semitism — it is anti-Semitism in its essence. (183)

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